



# Republic of Letters, Empire of Textbooks: Globalizing Western Knowledge, 1790-1895

## Citation

Hsiung, Hansun. 2016. Republic of Letters, Empire of Textbooks: Globalizing Western Knowledge, 1790-1895. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences.

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*Republic of Letters, Empire of Textbooks: Globalizing Western Knowledge, 1790-1895*

A dissertation presented

by

Hansun Hsiung

to

The Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

History and East Asian Languages

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

May 2016



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Republic of Letters, Empire of Textbooks: Globalizing Western Knowledge, 1790-1895

**Abstract**

This dissertation seeks to answer two overarching questions: what was “Western knowledge” in the nineteenth century, and how did it become a global knowledge form? I do so by sketching a transnational history of the networks and practices that moved “Western knowledge” into Japan, the first non-Western country to putatively “modernize,” from the period roughly preceding the Napoleonic Wars until the end of the First Sino-Japanese War. Using archival materials from four countries and in seven languages, I contend the following: 1) that “Western knowledge” globalized primarily through the form of cheap educational print, represented by the modern textbook, rather than through major canonical works; 2) that Japan’s access to and understanding of these textbooks was mediated by multiple sites of print production across South, Southeast, and East Asia; 3) that the constant mediation of these textbooks through circulation transformed “Western knowledge” into something utterly different by the time it reached Japan. The dissertation is thus both a rehabilitation of textbooks as dynamic epistemic tools, and a deconstruction of “Western knowledge” as a series of global movements and transformations in print, thereby transcending any easy binary of knowledge “Eastern” and “Western.” In the process, I intervene in ongoing debates in intellectual history, book history, and the history of science, bringing them together in a reevaluation of the history of modernity at large.

Chapter 1 begins by examining the case of a popular Dutch educational periodical as it traveled from the Netherlands, through colonial Java, and into Japan. I highlight the material transformations undergone by books during the course of their circulation, and demonstrate how the integrity of “Western knowledge” was destabilized by the fragility of the physical artifacts that carried it.

Chapters 2 and 3 then examine the role of Chinese port towns in the circulation of textbooks to Japan. In Chapter 2, I trace the movement of a British textbook for deaf students to Hong Kong then into Nagasaki. The function of textbooks may be to teach, but the globalization of textbooks is often, I argue, a story of how disparate audiences give radically different answers to the question of *what* content, exactly, is actually being taught. At the same time, as I demonstrate in Chapter 3, there are also cases of unexpected convergence between ideologically opposed actors. Textbooks, for instance, functioned as a site of convergence between Christian missionaries in China, and the nominally anti-Christian shogunate in Japan.

Chapter 4 switches narrative strategies to move away from textbooks themselves, and instead focus on the lives of key actors in the textbook economy. Specifically, I recover two forgotten figures of the early Meiji period instrumental to the history of textbook circulation: John Hartley, a British bookseller in Yokohama, and Jakob Kaderli, an itinerant Swiss adventurer and textbook author in Edo-Tokyo. Finally, Chapter 5 turns to mid- and late Meiji in order to examine why textbooks, despite their importance, vanished from the record of Japanese modernity, leading to the rise of a new paradigm of Western knowledge.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It was once a staple of criticism that young generations, struggling to find their proper voice, labored under the anxiety of influence. If influence does tend toward anxiety, however, then I am forced here to confess a perversion: I have found in influence nothing but solace and pleasure. Since well before our first encounter in person, Hisa Kuriyama has served as an impossible model for the combination of historical rigor, philosophical insight, and lyrical expressiveness. Only with Hisa has it been possible to enter into an advisory meeting, and emerge hours later having discussed Sebald, Amitav Ghosh, and Oulipo, as well as the psychology of video games. In him, I have found an intellectual kinship beyond the concerns of discipline, and even beyond the institution of the university itself. To him, first, go my thanks.

Yet though Hisa comes first in these acknowledgments, he does so only among equals, in the full and genuine sense of *primus inter pares*. For, just as vital to my intellectual formation, have been Andrew Gordon, Ann Blair, and David Howell. Andy has in every capacity acted as my principal advisor in all but name since I first stepped foot in Cambridge, offering me invaluable professional advice and encouragement, and shepherding me through the hurdle that was my first academic publication. As is known by many, I am at times not the most cogent explicator of my own ideas. Andy has demonstrated a remarkable ability to distill my thoughts into clear and direct language, and time and again have I turned to his words to discover the essence of my own thinking. His unflagging patience and guidance have laid the foundations for my research, and I am utterly humbled by his continued faith in me.

I first burst into Ann's office as a rambling and confused second-year student. On grounds I still cannot fathom, Ann nevertheless welcomed me, and from that point onward, became an inseparable part of my scholarly identity, initiating me into the world of book history. That I have remained in this world owes itself only partly to intellectual attraction; far more decisive has been Ann's overflowing generosity and contagious enthusiasm. She is one of those rare scholars who, despite her prodigious erudition, remains truly humble, ever ready to plunge into new collaborative enterprises. Entering graduate school, I was a culturalist steeped in the hermeneutics of suspicion. I recovered through Ann a forgotten passion for history as a kind of joyful Bachelardian science – as a bold community of inquiry that works together to achieve positive knowledge, rather than resting on negative gestures of critique and deconstruction.

My own production of knowledge, however, has ultimately had to answer to the one-man tribunal of David Howell, whose mastery of early modern Japan arouses in me a constant awareness of my own immaturity as a scholar. The sharpness of David's analytical and rhetorical wit never ceases to pierce through my work with a *bon mot* whose pleasant humor belies a destructive acumen. In reading his comments, what begins as a chuckle all too often turns quickly into a deep unease, as I realize that in one fell swoop, he has dismantled my entire argument. His careful wisdom has always functioned to rein my thought in when it wanders too far astray, and if my musings possess any cogency of structured discipline, this is largely due to his efforts.

Logistics prevent a committee from expanding beyond modest numbers. Many other faculty played a vital role in my graduate career, and I would be remiss not to credit their support. Ian Miller repeatedly provided sharp advice on teaching, research, and the



job market; Leah Price offered unflagging insights from the realm of book history. Peter Gordon, during preparation for *Generals*, offered the best nugget of wisdom to date on the nature of research: start with the smallest, circumscribed detail possible, and allow that to expand naturally through archival research. Meanwhile, in Japan, Matsukata Fuyuko and Matsui Yōko were ideal advisors. Barak Kushner and Laura Moretti were kind enough to invite me on separate occasions to Cambridge, as were Chris Gerteis to SOAS, Yael Rice to Amherst, and András Kiséry to CUNY. Michael Suarez inspired me as a Mellon Fellow in Critical Bibliography. Then, there are my mentors at Yale: Ed Kamens and Bill Kelly, to be sure, but also Aaron Gerow, Chris Hill, John Treat, and Iván Szelényi.

Professors do not a dissertation make, however, and I have had the good fortune of wonderful encounters with students and staff at Harvard and beyond. Sakura Christmas, and now Pika, have been ever faithful friends, offering me shelter during times of homelessness. John Lee, John Kim, and Nuri Kim – “Yellow Unicorns” all – have provided invaluable companionship over the years, as have Tae-Yeoun Keum, Sean O’Reilly, Devin Fitzgerald, Greg Afinogenov, Kathryn Schwartz, and Lin Loh. Matthieu Glaumaud-Carbonnier generously shared with me his friendship and his experience in the French historical community, and I stand in giant debt to him and Sylvain Guyot for inheriting my oversized library during nearly two years when I roamed homeless around the world. Logistically, Kuniko McVey of Harvard-Yenching, and Stacie Matsumoto of the Reischauer Institute always managed to accommodate me, showing kind tolerance in the face of my disorganization. While abroad, too, I incurred innumerable debts. In Japan: Hiro Fujimoto, Watanabe Masaya, Ishikawa Kenji, Matsudaira Tokujin, all the members

of the *Yōgakushi kenkyū kai*, the Fulbright-Japan office, Ishikawa Ryō, Setogawa Kozue, Viktor Shmagin, Emi Foulk, Patrick Schwemmer, Nadia Kanagawa, Niels van Steenpaal and many more. In the UK: Nadja Oertelt, Kristoffer Joseffson, Caspar Boehme, Octave Pero, Sherman McMinn, Clinton Hayden, Ana Rajcevic, Adrienne Hart, and again many more. In France: Elisa Martos and Julie Le Men. In the Netherlands: Kiri Paramore. Finally, I cannot begin to express my gratitude to Jared Redmond, whose poetic intensity, ever undimmed, has taught me never to ignore the voice of the artist within. Through the Weichselstraße Tapes, he has witnessed me at my most desperate, frustrated, and incoherent, and his freewheeling optimism has served as the necessary foil to my pessimistic realism.

It is to these names, each in their own way, that I owe this dissertation. May they stand here until we all vanish into history.

“Other regions give back to us what our culture has excluded from its [own] discourse... we travel abroad to discover in distant lands something whose presence at home has become unrecognizable.”

~ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*

## **DREAMS: An Introduction**

“What was a textbook? In the modern world, the question  
hardly needs posing.”

- Anthony Grafton, “Textbooks and the Disciplines”<sup>1</sup>

New elites in a new nation: aged sixteen, seventeen, some as old as twenty, on the cusp of adulthood, they had been handpicked as the best young minds of their hometowns; they had migrated from out the countryside up to Tokyo, housed in government dormitories; they had been elected to become the first generation of students at the Kaisei Gakkō, a school that only a decade before had been the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, and in the span of a few years would become Tokyo Imperial University. They – these elect – had been tasked with bearing the weight of building a modern Japan.<sup>2</sup> And they had dreams.

Dreams during the daytime, certainly, as the future unfolded before their eyes. But they dreamt, too, at night, while they slumbered together in packed rooms of six each. These latter dreams we know – or, at least, some of them – for they had been asked to record them as a class activity. One student scaled Fuji’s peak, then sprouted wings and flew to San Francisco. One student walked the streets of Paris, only to find himself accosted by a Buddhist monk transformed into a badger. Another found himself crossing America by railroad, taking in the natural beauty of the continent, when, suddenly, the train derailed into a canyon, sending him crashing to his death. Yet another even

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony T. Grafton, “Textbooks and the Disciplines,” in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony T. Grafton (Geneva: Droz, 2008), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> For a cultural history of these students, see Karasawa Tomitarō 唐澤富太郎, *Kōshinsei: Bakumatsu-ishinki no erīto-tachi* 貢進生：幕末維新期のエリートたち (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1990).

recounted a trip to Palestine. There, he “met Jesus and talked and was with him many weeks,” before drowning at sea on his return home to Japan.<sup>3</sup>

What are we to make of these nocturnal reveries, fantastic and anxious, with their incongruent mix of symbols West and East? Dreams, for humanistic scholars, have long belonged to the realm of psychoanalysis; their rebus language is said to reveal the fears, hopes, and desires buried in our unconscious.<sup>4</sup> The techniques of psychoanalysis have, in turn, laid the groundwork for postcolonial theory, the principal scholarly paradigm to diagnose the psyche of the non-Westerner’s encounter with the West. From Freud, via Lacan and Fanon, and into the works of writers such as Homi Bhabha, we have learned to speak of “hybridity” and “mimicry” as symptoms of subjectivity under the “Western gaze.” We have learned to recognize “mestizo” identities that, liminal and conflicted, seemed “almost the same, *but not quite*.”<sup>5</sup> According to postcolonial theory, the incongruities of these Japanese students’ dreams, their eccentric mélange of Paris and San Francisco, of Jesus and Buddhist monks, represent the drama of an epistemic rupture played out across nervous nights. At a certain historical moment, postcolonial theory tells us, a so-called Western episteme and all its associated categories thrust itself upon the world.<sup>6</sup> The disturbances that resulted shaped the mental structure – hybrid, mimetic, mestizo – of non-Western modernity.

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<sup>3</sup> 6 Feb. 1873, in Japan Notes 1870-74, William Elliot Griffis Collection, Rutgers University Library.

<sup>4</sup> On dream language and the rebus, see Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams. The Complete and Definitive Text*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2010), pp. 295-96.

<sup>5</sup> Emphasis in original. Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 86; Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (New York: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Tony Ballantyne, “Colonial Knowledge,” in *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives*, ed. Sarah Stockwell (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), pp. 177-97; Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,

This dissertation stands fundamentally opposed to such a view, at least as it concerns the course of Western knowledge in Japan from the late Tokugawa to the mid-Meiji period (ca. 1790-1895). Later generations of Japanese thinkers, for separate reasons, came to believe in the giant drama of East and West; they began to perceive the hybrid, incongruous ways in which Japan had absorbed Western knowledge as the product of their own deficiency, as an unwelcome reminder that they would never be Western enough. But this was their own misprision. The generations that came before them did not live with this anxiety. They did not live with this anxiety, because the hybrid things they dreamt at night – these were already there in the day, manifest on the surface of the Western texts they imported and consumed.

Open an elementary reading book from 1870s England, when the Kaisei Gakkō students had their dreams, and you will find already an outline of the French Revolution next to a biography of Isaac Newton and an anecdote on King Alfred's mother.<sup>7</sup> Open a Dutch periodical of popular education from the same period, and you will find already the story of Galileo alongside a description of the Paris sewers, followed by a geography of Gibraltar.<sup>8</sup> Though we have forgotten them, it was these books that once formed the world of Western knowledge for Japan, to the extent that it in the global common sense of the nineteenth century, Japan was a textbook nation. Under its section heading for "Asia," *Peter Parley's Universal History*, a staple of British and American schools, informed readers "[E]very now and then, the publishers of this little book which you are

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1996); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, *A Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools* (Numazu: Itiro W.N. & Co., 1871), at times also catalogued under its popular Japanese title, *Seiyō mōkyū* 西洋蒙求.

<sup>8</sup> See the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* as discussed in Chapter Two.

now studying, receive an order from far off Japan for two, four, six hundred copies of *Parley's Universal History*.”<sup>9</sup> In short, the cultural collages and hybrid eccentricities that later generations of intellectuals would either chastise as non-Western misunderstanding, or celebrate as non-Western agency, were already apparent in the principal reading materials that Japanese scholars used to access Western knowledge. Prior to its arrival in Japan, Western knowledge was already hybrid.

Whence did these books emerge? What was their nature, how did they circulate so profusely, and what consequences did their circulation have for the globalization of Western knowledge? These are the motivating questions of my dissertation. At the broadest level, I propose the following four answers:

- 1) In the period from the 1790s until the third quarter of the nineteenth century, at varying speeds, for varying reasons, across different Western European countries, cheap pedagogical print, symbolized by the textbook, inspired quasi-utopian hopes for the universal diffusion of knowledge.
- 2) Taken up in these hopes by missionaries, colonial bureaucrats, native printers and publishers, textbooks became the most ubiquitous form for the redistribution of “Western knowledge” into non-Western regions.
- 3) This process of redistribution and circulation, however, was not innocent. In the process of migrating and traveling, textbooks transformed in ways unexpected, becoming new

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<sup>9</sup> [Samuel Griswold Goodrich], *Peter Parley's Universal History, on the Basis of Geography* (New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., 1874), p. 113.

objects, new texts, accumulating new meanings while discarding or changing old ones.

4) The epistemic features, e.g., hybridity, that characterize the non-Western modernity, especially Japanese modernity, during its foundational period, can be accounted for by the transformations textbooks underwent as they globalized.

Readers will no doubt sense in the programmatic summary above a tension between the terms “textbooks” and “cheap pedagogical print,” as well as a vagueness to the term “Western knowledge.” To an extent, this tension and vagueness is inherent to the historical materials themselves, and the malleability of these terms for historical actors will become apparent in the following chapters. For the purposes of this introduction, however, a general account of my reasoning behind my choice of terms may function as a means of synthesizing the several historiographical strands from which my dissertation borrows, and to which it hopes to contribute. In ways consonant with my emphasis on textbooks as fostering an epistemic culture of hybridity, these strands themselves represent a hybrid range: cultural history, the history of science, book history, and the intellectual history of Japan.

### **Historiography**

Across all the different subfields that traffic in the study of the textbook, we could identify three fundamental questions that, to differing extents, run through them all. First, what kind of knowledge was to be transmitted through textbooks? Second, who were the target learners? Third, how should a textbook be designed in order to most effectively transmit a given kind of knowledge to its appropriate learner? These questions will be our



guide as we explore the history of the European textbook from the early modern to modern period through its secondary literature. Based on this survey, my primary contention will be as follows: while the early modern textbook tended to differentiate fairly distinctly between kinds of knowledge, types of learners, and the respective methods requisite for each, the modern textbook increasingly moved toward a singular kind of knowledge, a generalized concept of the learner, and a consistent method throughout. Put more succinctly, I argue that the modern textbook presumes a flattening of knowledge, a conviction that whether high or low, all knowledge can be taught in the same way, to every learner.

Before we proceed, however, a caveat is required. One would expect the history of education to have produced the richest scholarship concerning textbooks. And, in sheer number, our expectation is borne out. Yet the state of textbook research in the history of education proper is also in many ways the most qualitatively impoverished. The attitude of historians of education to textbooks is predominantly suspicious and condescending. Textbooks are treated as the popular residue below of dominant ideologies above, the vulgarized and reduced form of politics, society, and culture from on high. As a result, most textbook studies opt to mine textbooks for their depictions of race, gender, and, eventually, nation, or else examine their position within structures of censorship and government subsidization.<sup>10</sup> This approach is especially pronounced in Japanese

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<sup>10</sup> For two notable exceptions, see Chris Stray, "Paradigms Regained: Towards a Historical Sociology of the Textbook," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 26, no. 1 (1994): pp. 1-29; and also the research notes in the short-lived and irregularly-published journal *Paradigm: Journal of the Textbook Colloquium* (1989-2007). In general, studies of textbooks in the field of education, whether historical or contemporary, only began to gather force in the 1980s. See D.R. Wright, "International Textbook Research -- Past Stagnation and Future Potential," *Curriculum* 4, no. 2 (1983): pp. 14-18. The most recent bibliographical survey of the field, now nearly two decades old, is A. Wood and D. Lambert, *What We Know about Textbooks: A Research Bibliography* (London: University of London Institute of Education, 1997). The main organs of textbook research still functioning today are the International Association for Research on Textbooks and Educational

historiography, where a catalog search for “textbook” as a keyword results in volumes of research over the representation of wartime atrocities and ethnic minorities. Textbooks may be useful primary sources, but their social function and the simplified values they embrace render them still “the most despised literary genre of all.”<sup>11</sup>

It is to outsider interventions upon the history of education that we must turn, therefore, in order to recover some of the excitement of textbooks. These interventions have come from three fields in particular: cultural history, the history of science, and book history. These three fields have overlapped and poached from one another a great deal, making a categorical separation impossible. My account will therefore weave between them, maintaining distinctions where present, but focusing upon their sites of intersection.

We begin with cultural history. Within the cultural history of the early modern period, two distinct genres can be identified as contributing to the development of the modern textbook: 1) the humanistic or “philosophical” textbook and 2) the how-to manual. Returning back to our original guiding questions, we may say that in the early

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Media, and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig. Both focus on contemporary studies with a strong bias for pedagogical praxis. Francophone literature has arguably paid greater attention to the historical dimensions of the textbook, evidenced especially by the work of Alain Choppin. See Alain Choppin, *Les Manuels scolaires. Histoire et actualité* (Paris: Hachette Education, 1992); as well as Choppin’s bibliography of French textbooks since the Revolution: Alain Choppin, ed., *Les Manuels scolaires en France de 1789 à nos jours*, 8 vols. (Paris: Institut National de recherche pédagogique, 1987-99). Perhaps the most sustained historical investigation of textbooks has come from bibliographers, rather than historians. See John Alfred Nietz, *Old Textbooks: Spelling, Grammar, Reading, Arithmetic, Geography, American History, Civil Government, Physiology, Penmanship, Art, Music, as Taught in the Common Schools from Colonial Days to 1900* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961); and Nietz, *The Evolution of American Secondary School Textbooks: Rhetoric & Literature, Algebra, Geometry, Natural History (Zoology), Botany, Natural Philosophy (Physics), Chemistry, Latin and Greek, French, German & World History as Taught in American Latin Grammar School, Academies and Early High Schools before 1900* (Rutland, Vt: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1966).

<sup>11</sup> William E. Marsden, *The School Textbook: Geography, History and Social Studies* (London: Woburn Press, 2001), p. 1. Marsden cites from an “editorial” by J. Wilkes from *Paradigm* 23 (1997): p. 44, but I have been unable to locate this editorial in the issue, number, and year given by Marsden.

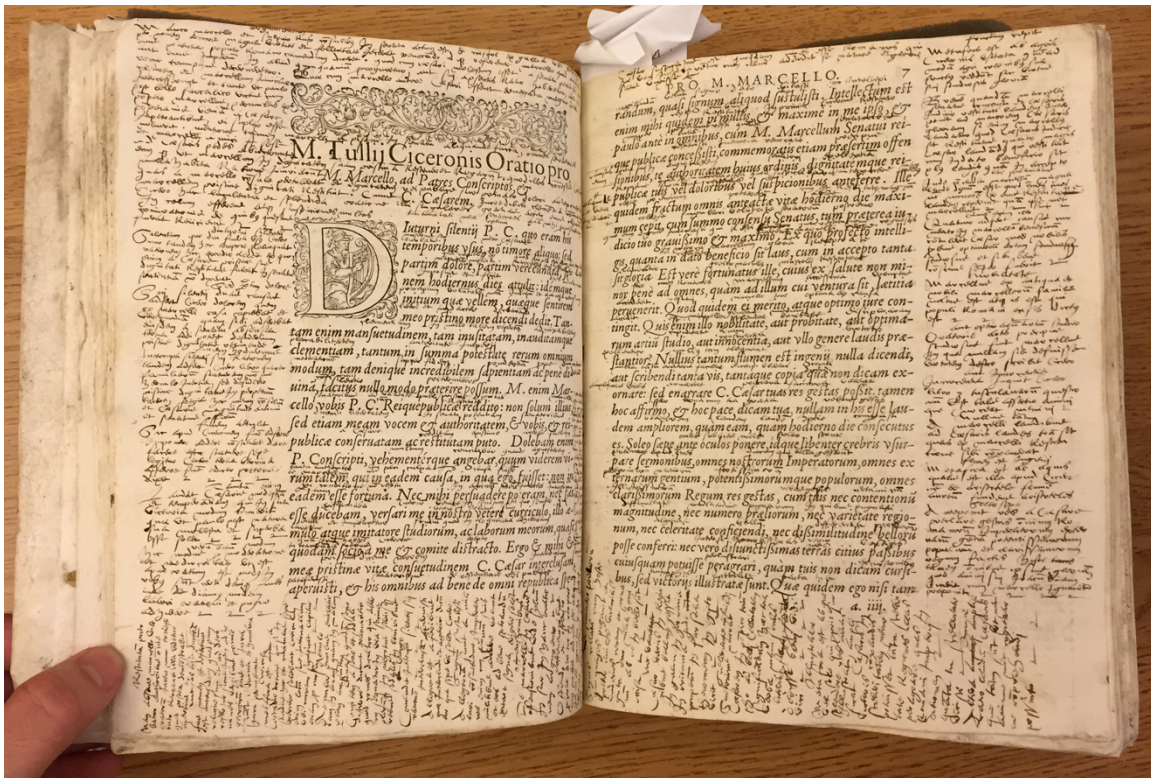
modern period, each of these genres presumed a relatively distinct kind of knowledge to be transmitted, a relatively distinct audience, and a relatively distinct method of transmission. Examining the differences between them will therefore allow us to see more clearly how these two genres converged into one in the form of the modern textbook.

The bulk of scholarship in cultural history marketing itself as a study of the “textbook” has focused on the first of these genres, the humanistic or “philosophical” textbook.<sup>12</sup> This is more than justifiable, for insofar as “textbook” was an actor’s category – and for the most part, it was not – it was defined as follows: “in *Universities* is a Classick Author written very wide by the Students, to give Room for an Interpretation dictated by the Master, etc. to be inserted in the Interlines.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Patricia Reif, “The Textbook Tradition in Natural Philosophy, 1600-1650,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 30 (1969): pp. 17-32; Charles B. Schmitt, “The Rise of the Philosophical Textbook,” in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, and Eckhard Kessler, with Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 201-35; Anja-Silvia Goeing, “Textbooks” and “Treatises,” in Marco Sgarbi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy. Philosophy between 1300 and 1650* (Amsterdam: Springer, 2015); Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony T. Grafton, eds., *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Geneva: Droz, 2008).

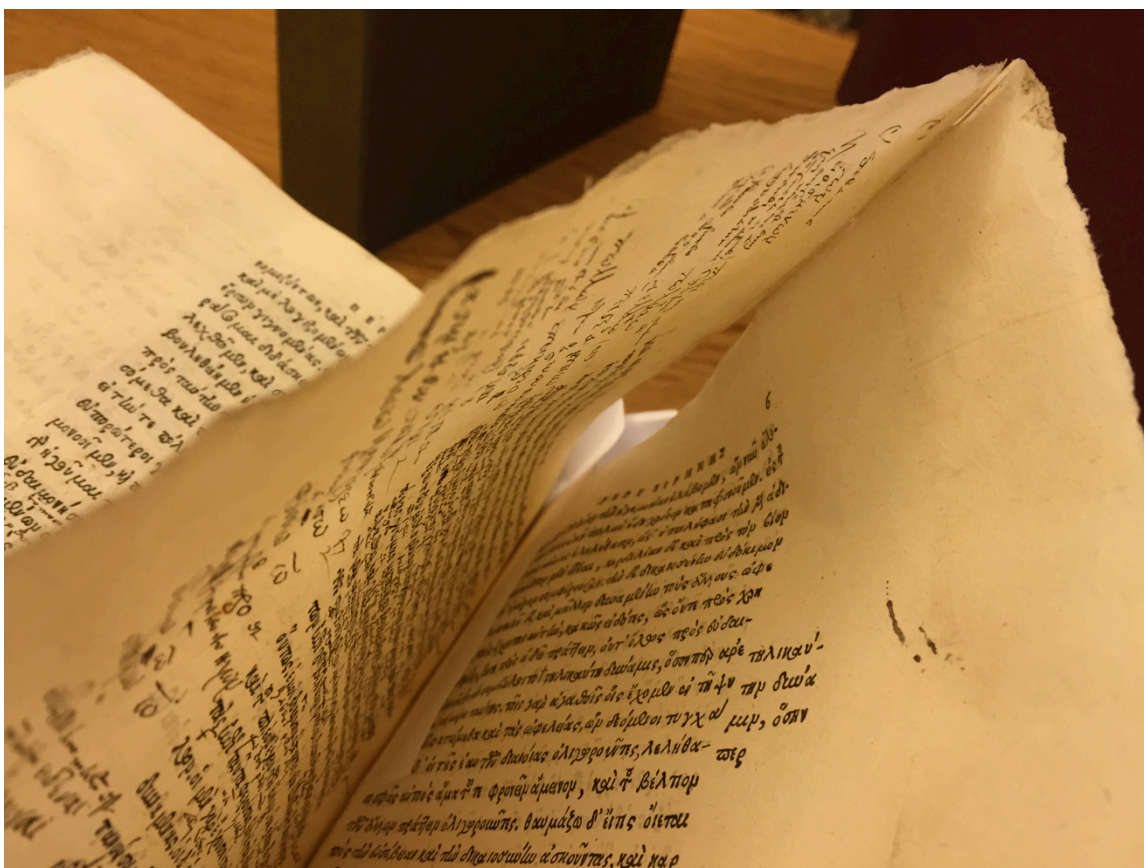
<sup>13</sup> “Text-Book,” in Nathan Bailey, *Dictionarium Britannicum: or a more compleat universal etymological English dictionary*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (London: T. Cox, 1730). On the many names for textbooks in the early modern period, including *isagoge*, *elementa*, *rudimenta*, and *institutiones*, see above, Anthony T. Grafton, “Textbooks and the Disciplines.”



**0.1 The “philosophical” textbook:** Cicero’s *For Marcellus*, printed with wide margins and line spacing for student annotation. [Collection of seventeen Greek and Latin texts printed in Paris in the sixteenth century for the use of students, 1543-1553], PA3416.A2 C65, Stanford University Library Special Collections.

As in the case pictured above, these textbooks often took the form of a *Sammelband*, collecting and binding together a series of different “classick Authors” together in one tome. Flipping through this particular volume, we also discover another curious feature: that, at least in this case, its contents were first read in an unbound state. Below, we see the student’s marginalia continuing onto the inner pages of uncut leaves. This physical evidence makes it probable that his annotations were initially made on loose, unfolded sheets; the various texts were folded and bound together only at a later point. One might say, suggestively, that these textbooks were “texts” before they were ever “books.”





**0.2 The “philosophical text” – before the book:** Student’s annotation for Isocrates’ *On the Peace* continues on the inner pages of conjugal leaves that are still not fully cut. [Collection of seventeen Greek and Latin texts printed in Paris in the sixteenth century for the use of students, 1543-1553], PA3416.A2 C65, Stanford University Library Special Collections.

Paying close attention to such bibliographical details, as well as to traces of reader interaction, has been a hallmark of the cultural history of the philosophical textbook. By doing so, researchers have demonstrated how the textbook in the Renaissance evolved both with and against medieval precedents, starting often as student lecture notes taken down from classroom dictations, which were circulated among peers as manuscripts, then eventually published once the art of printing took ground.<sup>14</sup> Separately, too, the study of note-taking as an intellectual activity in league with habits instilled by the classroom has

<sup>14</sup> M.B. Parkes, “The Provision of Books,” in *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume II: Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. J.I. Catto and T.A.R. Evans (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1992), p. 407, 427; Anja-Silvia Goeing, “Textbooks”; Ann Blair, “Textbooks and Methods of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe,” *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 39-73.

emphasized the manner in which textbook learning shaped the epistemic practices of humanist scholars.<sup>15</sup>

The use of such material evidence to investigate how books shape epistemic practices marks the boundary beyond which cultural history turns into book history and the history of science. It also points to the way in which the recent injection of book history into the history of science has allowed for crucial reevaluations of the function of textbooks. Once, the status of textbooks in the history of science was much as it remains today in the history of education. Researchers adopted a top-down view of scientific knowledge, wherein textbooks occupied the bottom rung. Most famously, for Thomas Kuhn, textbooks were articulations of “dogma.” Rather than generating new knowledge, textbooks were “produced only in the aftermath of a scientific revolution.” They therefore, at best, merely rehearsed existing ideas, or else at worst perverted them during the process of popularization.<sup>16</sup>

The introduction of book history into the history of science has helped upset these views. This turn arguably began to coalesce in the late 1990s, through new attention to books as generative of epistemic practices. These practices might, on the one hand, be those of reader-writers, whose use of techniques such as commonplacing were essential

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<sup>15</sup> Ann Blair, “The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe,” *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): pp. 303-16.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 10, pp. 135-38, p. 144. Kuhn also addressed textbooks to similar effect in Kuhn, “The Function of Dogma in Scientific Research,” in *Scientific Change. Symposium on the History of Science, University of Oxford, 9-15 July 1961*, ed. A.C. Crombie (New York: Basic Books, 1961), pp. 347-69. For a summary of this view that textbooks are “not instruments of scientific debate or tools of knowledge making,” see Marga Vicedo, “Playing the Game: Psychology Textbooks Speak Out about Love,” *Isis* 103, no. 1 (2012): pp. 111-25.

for organizing knowledge.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, they might be those of printers and publishers, concerned with the difficulties of stabilizing the book's authority as a source of knowledge.<sup>18</sup> Over the course of the past decade, innumerable works emerged from the site of this intersection.<sup>19</sup> Proof of this subfield's fertility may be seen in a tweet by one attendee at the History of Science Society's annual conference in 2015: "So...when did the history of science society become the history of the scientific book society?"<sup>20</sup>

Within this burgeoning literature on bookish epistemology, textbooks carved out a space early on. They did so, in particular, in relation to the second early modern genre of textbooks mentioned above: the how-to manual. Associated above all with crafts and trades, but also including a range of other techniques from letter-writing to the application of cosmetics, the variety of books included in the "how-to" genre exploded from 1500 onward.<sup>21</sup> It was not only that readers in early modern Europe acquired a more

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<sup>17</sup> Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: John Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

<sup>18</sup> For a programmatic summary, see Adrian Johns, "Science and the Book in Modern Cultural Historiography," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 29, no. 2 (1998): pp. 167-94. For the proof, see Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

<sup>19</sup> There are too many to name and review here, but in addition to Blair and Johns, I would add as another foundational text for this "subfield" the edited volume Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine, eds., *Books and the Sciences in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Perhaps the most interesting new line of research within this subfield – at least for this writer – has been the move toward considering processes of scientific illustration as they are negotiated between writer, artist, engraver/cutter, and printer/publisher. See, for instance, Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Yale (@elizabethyale), Twitter post, November 20, 2015, 6:53 p.m., <https://twitter.com/elizabethyale/status/667898570889031680>.

<sup>21</sup> For a genealogy that relates these to medieval magic manuals, see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); on the relation between technical expertise in crafts and science, see Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); on these manuals and "trade secrets" in the development of scientific property regimes, see Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). For a summary of literature on how-to manuals, including but not limited to the history of science, see Natasha

pronounced thirst for information, with booksellers explicitly advertising catalogues of “practical manuals on every conceivable subject.”<sup>22</sup> More importantly, the growth of didactic literature marked two important differences: the increasing desirability of practical and professional knowledge in contrast to what Roger Chartier has labeled “cultivated genres,” and, secondly, a shift in the means of learning itself from “communal dissemination” by “personal facilitator[s]” to the *text* as teacher.<sup>23</sup>

Both these features of the how-to manual highlight the central changes in the development of the modern textbook. Indeed, the modern textbook could be said to have developed at the point where the how-to manual superseded the philosophical textbook and collapsed – or at least attempted to collapse – the latter into the former, turning them into one epistemic form. First, the transition from early modernity to modernity was marked by the realignment of hierarchies of knowledge, according to which “useful” knowledge – knowledge of trade, production, craft – gained prominence relative to traditional “liberal” knowledge, i.e. the humanist tradition of Greek and Latin classics. As

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Glaisyer and Sara Pennell, Introduction to *Didactic Literature in England 1500-1800: Expertise Constructed*, ed. Glaisyer and Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003): pp. 1-18; Juanita Feros Ruys, ed., *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008). On letter-writing, see Roger Chartier, Alain Boureau, and Cécile Dauphin, *Correspondence: Models of Letter-writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Christopher Woodall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). Note that I do not adapt the term “didactic literature” as used by Glaisyer and Pennell, because I wish to keep moral works distinct from the how-to manual as a genre. Flor Glaisyer and Pennell, as well as for Ruys, the term “didactic” is intended to deliberately blend these two genres together as books that prescribe a normative set of practices and behaviors.

<sup>22</sup> Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, ed. Arundell Esdaile (Oxford: OUP for the Bibliographical Society 1922): p. 80.

<sup>23</sup> For Chartier’s distinction between “cultivated genres” (e.g. for humanist scholars) and “professional manuals” (for secretaries and merchants), and popular “chapbook publishing,” see Roger Chartier, “Model Letters and Letter-Writing in Ancien Régime France,” *Correspondence*, p. 1-23. On personal versus textual facilitators and changes in “communal dissemination,” see Glaisyer and Pennell, pp. 9-13. Chartier also makes a related but different assertion, describing “the appropriation and use of a form of competence...outside of those places that regulate its acquisition (an elementary school, a master writer’s stall, a charity school),” see Chartier, “Model Letters,” p. 2.



“mechanical” competencies such as bookkeeping and navigation gained importance, they accordingly challenged established distinctions of the practical and applied as pitted against the theoretical and pure – of *ars* versus *scientia*.<sup>24</sup> Second, the notion of the textbook as itself a sufficient teacher, obviating or at least attenuating the necessity of the classroom, signaled a key distinction from an early modern paradigm that saw the school-book as, per its name, dependent on schools. “Again and again,” writes Anthony Grafton, “publishers, authors and readers of textbooks...noted, often with rancor, that the textbook could not provide all of the information or instruct.”<sup>25</sup> Yet by the 1850s, textbooks in their very titles consciously anointed themselves with the status of virtual schools: *The School of Chemistry* (1854), *The Class-Room Instructor* (1841), *Every Man His Own Teacher* (1834). Time and again, these new textbook authors claimed their works so well written that one could “commence study...without the aid of an instructor.”<sup>26</sup>

It was this shift that the historian Alain Choppin had attempted to highlight in contrasting the post-Revolutionary concept of the *livre élémentaire* with the survival and adaptation of its humanist counterpart, the *livre classique*.<sup>27</sup> Humanist education through “classick Authors” by no means vanished in the modern period, but it did now stand in

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<sup>24</sup> On the topic of *ars* and *scientia*, see Paul O. Kristeller, “The Modern System of the Arts,” *Renaissance Thought II; papers on humanism and the arts* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965): pp. 163-227. More generally, as a summary of the interacting categories of liberal-useful, pure-applied, theoretical-practical, etc., see Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: from Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 83-85.

<sup>25</sup> Anthony T. Grafton, “Textbooks and the Disciplines,” p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> Julius Adolph Stöckhardt, *The Principles of Chemistry [Die Schule der Chemie]*, tr. Charles Henry Pierce (Cambridge, MA: John Bartlett, 1854), p. ii.

<sup>27</sup> Alain Choppin, “L’Histoire des manuels scolaires: une approche globale,” *Histoire de l’éducation* 9 (1980): pp. 1-25; Alain Choppin, *Les écrits pédagogiques sous la révolution* (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1989). For statistical data on post-1789 textbook publishing in France and the legislative history of textbooks, see Alain Choppin, Marie-Anne Decouche-Beauchais, and Robert Gougnaud, eds., *Les Manuels scolaires en France dès 1789 à nos jours*, 8 vols. (Paris: Sorbonne, 1987-99). The fifth volume reproduces original source materials on French textbook regulations.

competition with a new hope that “elementary books – clear, precise, methodical, and distributed profusely – must make all important truths universally familiar, and spare useless efforts in learning these truths.”<sup>28</sup> No need to labor through the rhetorical contortions of the Ancients. A book – the right kind of textbook – could teach anyone all he or she needed to know. The textbook, per its modern dictionary definition, had become “a manual of instruction in any science or branch of study.”<sup>29</sup>

Between the ideal of the elementary book, and the reality of the publishing market, lay the world of cheap pedagogical print. The term “cheap pedagogical print” is of my own coinage, but in developing it, I have drawn principally from histories of the book in Britain, and to a lesser extent France and Germany. Taken together, these works suggest that part and parcel of the faith in new textbooks that might teach everyone was the very practical economic concern that they in fact be priced affordably enough for all. The belief that such a scenario could become a reality was galvanized by the industrialization of print in the nineteenth century. The steam press, stereotyping, machine-made paper, rotary printing, lithography – all these technological innovations ushered in a shift in the economic structure of publishing that enabled the “mass production of books.”<sup>30</sup> Even the

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<sup>28</sup> “Il faut, en un mot, que des livres élémentaires, clairs, précis, méthodiques, répandus avec profusion, rendent universellement familières toutes les vérités importantes, et épargnent d’inutiles efforts pour les apprendre.” Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, *Rapport sur l’instruction publique, fait au nom de Constitution de l’Assemblée nationale, les 10, 11 et 19 septembre 1791* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1791), pp. 114-15.

<sup>29</sup> *OED*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., online version (1989).

<sup>30</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 320-50; Scott Bennett, “John Murray’s Family Library and the Cheapening of Books in Early Nineteenth Century Britain,” *Studies in Bibliography* 29 (1976): pp. 139-66. For the German case, see Ilse Rarisch, *Industrialisierung und Literatur* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1976). To be sure, some authors have stressed that the full impact of these technological changes was not really felt before the 1840s, and that changes in print culture during the first half of the century had either more to do with the economic-legal structure of copyright (St. Clair), or else a Romantic sensibility inflamed already by late-eighteenth century popular print and its promise of a “surplus of books” (Piper). See William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004);

crudest machine-based paper surpassed the productivity of hand mills by over two-and-a-half times, resulting in a decrease in paper prices by a factor of nearly ten.<sup>31</sup> Cylinder rolling presses churned out print at sixteen times the rate of hand presses, in addition to significantly reducing the need for skilled labor.<sup>32</sup> Stereotyping, furthermore, allowed the same material to be printed simultaneously on multiple presses without the extra effort of composing extra frames, while also, in combination with wood engraving, reducing the costs for high-quality illustrations.<sup>33</sup>

Through groups such as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, explored in Chapter 1, “cheapness” was championed as the central prerequisite for all educational works. In order to be diffused universally, knowledge had to be placed within the reach of every pocketbook.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, the creation of a market for cheap educational print presented an opportunity for publishers to exploit new readerships by churning out a constant stream of disposable pedagogical texts. Whereas the average size of print runs doubled over the course of the nineteenth century, the average for textbooks tripled, with 10,000 copies on a first print run marking the industry standard for in

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Andrew Piper, *Dreaming in Books: The Making of the Bibliographic Imagination in the Romantic Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Andrew Piper, "Vanishing Points: The Heterotopia of the Romantic Book," *European Romantic Review* 23, no. 3 (2012): pp. 381-91.

<sup>31</sup> Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1995), pp. 214-30. Note that paper made from wood pulp, instead of rags, though available from ca. 1840, was not used by mainstream print shops until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

<sup>32</sup> A skilled hand press operator earned approximately 40% more in wages than an unskilled machine rolling press operator. “The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine, No. 4,” *Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine* 2, no. 112 (Dec. 1833): pp. 507-10.

<sup>33</sup> “The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine — No. 2,” *Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine* 2, no. 101 (Oct., 1833): pp. 417-24; “The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine — No. 3,” *Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine* 2, no. 107 (Nov., 1833): pp. 465-72.

<sup>34</sup> See Chapter 1, and also “The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine — No. 4,” *Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine* 2, no. 112 (Dec., 1833): p. 506.

nineteenth-century Britain.<sup>35</sup> In 1851, Longman's & Co. declared textbooks "one of the most important departments of our literature" – a genre to which "men of the highest acquirements have...devoted their best energies," and over which "publishers have spared no expense, and made every effort."<sup>36</sup> By the 1860s, advertisements for textbooks regularly occupied at least half the pages of the *Publishers' Weekly*.<sup>37</sup>

Education was everywhere. Cheap books were everywhere. "Reading," declared Balzac in 1830, "has become a necessity."<sup>38</sup> Precisely this state of affairs makes it difficult to demarcate the distinct boundaries of textbooks as a genre in the nineteenth century from the wider world of cheap pedagogical print. Standards as to what books were fit for the classroom, in an age when the classroom was undergoing rapid change, remained highly variable throughout the century, and the works used in an elementary school were just as likely to be found in the private libraries of working-class readers. Publishers' practices further complicate the picture in at least two ways. First, in an attempt to maximize their consumer base, publishers deliberately marketed pedagogical print as suitable both for ambitious individuals, and for school students. Second, publishers frequently serialized and recycled the contents of textbooks as articles in cheap periodicals, giving rise to complaints that works such as the *Penny Magazine* were no more than "disjointed and unauthorised extracts" from other educational literature.<sup>39</sup> In this sense, the nineteenth-century textbook occupied an ambiguous space between

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<sup>35</sup> Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 329, pp. 336-37.

<sup>36</sup> *On the Publication of School Books* (London: Longman & Co., and John Murray, 1851), p. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836–1916* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 115–18.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Piper, *Dreaming in Books*, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> William Chambers, *Memoir of Robert Chambers, with Autobiographic Reminiscences of William Chambers* (London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1872), p. 209.

textbooks in the strict sense, and what scholars of education such as Alain Choppin have called the “parascholastic” (*parascolaire*), signifying the range of materials – study aids, cheat sheets, reference works, etc. – that supplement classroom activity, without ever receiving the official distinction of textbook (*manuel scolaire*).<sup>40</sup>

We may thus make a distinction. The modern textbook was an ideal type, symbolizing hopes for a universally diffusible medium of education. Cheap pedagogical print was its corresponding reality – the commercial response in societies saturated by a dream of universal education. The interplay of ideal and reality constituted a motive force in the globalization of knowledge. Practices of cheap pedagogical print determined to a large extent the formal features of the books we shall examine: small octavos and duodecimos on shoddy paper and poorly bound, whose contents were a collage poached from existing materials. Nevertheless, the ideal type continued to motivate actors to call ceaselessly for the movement of textbooks abroad as a solution to the problem of how to universally educate. Textbooks were just what they needed to finally bring good “European knowledge” to foreign populations. As the Calcutta School-Book Society declared upon its founding in 1817, “suitable School Books... *are the grand desideratum*... in the want of such Books, the *present system of education is of necessity defective*; and the *diligence of the most accomplished School-Masters cannot supply the deficiency*.”<sup>41</sup> We detect here, again, the constant theme of the modern textbook: teachers, even the best, are insufficient; books were a more desirable solution. Buoyed by the ideal of the textbook, cheap pedagogical print set foot upon the global stage.

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<sup>40</sup> Alain Choppin, *Les Manuels scolaires. Histoire et actualité*, pp. 13-17.

<sup>41</sup> Emphasis in original text. Calcutta School-Book Society, *Report of the Provisional Committee of the Calcutta School-Book Society* (Calcutta: Philip Pereira at the Hindoostanee Press, 1817), p. 8.

It is starting with the textbook's entry into circuits of broad transnational movement that my dissertation begins to make its most original contributions. I take as a premise the new view in the history of science that textbooks were not simple expressions of consensus, but important actors in the creation of new knowledge.<sup>42</sup> From there, my overriding goal has been to recreate the types of transformations that textbooks undergo as they travel over vast distances and uneven networks, demonstrating thereby how the process of circulation itself reconfigured Western knowledge, producing distinct and unexpected epistemic cultures – in particular, in Japan.

In doing so, I have in mind to challenge some fundamental aspects of our understanding of this nineteenth-century moment in cheap pedagogical print. First, I challenge the claim that the rise of pedagogical publishing and the industrialization of print can be fully grasped by established notions of the “common reader.” As pioneered by Richard Altick, the history of the common reader's appearance in the nineteenth century is the history of a battle between two forces: educators' desires to use cheap pedagogical print to shape mass tastes, and the divergent tastes of the masses themselves. For Altick, these masses primarily comprised male working-class readers. And, for Altick, the overall narrative of the century was one of their triumph over educators. Paternalistic attempts to educate were ultimately overwhelmed by the different interests and tastes of an emerging class culture that preferred light, entertaining fiction over informative

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<sup>42</sup> Anders Lundgren and Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent, eds., *Communicating Chemistry: Textbooks and their Audiences, 1789-1939* (Canton: Science History Publications, 2000). See also the special issue of *Science and Education* in 2006, “Scientific and Technological Textbooks in the European Periphery,” co-edited by Bensaude-Vincent; also Daniel Kaiser, ed., *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005). A summary appears in Massimiliano Badino and Jaume Navarro, “Pedagogy and Research. Notes for a Historical Epistemology of Science Education,” in *Research and Pedagogy: A History of Quantum Physics through Textbooks*, ed. Badino and Navarro (Berlin: Editions Open Access, 2013), pp. 7-25; Finally, see the “Textbooks in the Sciences,” special issue of *Isis* (March 2012).

textbooks.<sup>43</sup> Studies in the wake of Altick attempted to complicate this portrait by broadening the boundaries of the “common reader” to include women and children.<sup>44</sup> They have shown that despite evidencing “highly idiosyncratic and random” and “unsystematic reading patterns,” nineteenth-century common readers continued to consume a selection of educational texts alongside lowbrow fiction.<sup>45</sup> And they have demonstrated that if top-down educational initiatives became less frequent, projects for popular education still never ceased to rise anew.<sup>46</sup>

Yet even framed as “women, children, [and] workers,” each with their “highly idiosyncratic and random” practices of reading, the younger generation’s critique of Altick has still failed to comprehend the global ramifications of this historical moment. The same textbooks consumed by domestic audiences in Europe traveled around the world, changing their value and meaning as diverse non-Western audiences, eager to acquire Western knowledge, successively embraced them. By the time they arrived in Japan, for instance, cheap European textbooks had been “upcycled,” finding a new readership among scholarly elites with a set of political aims divergent from the original

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<sup>43</sup> Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, 2nd ed. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), p. 30. See also Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1973), esp. pp. 255ff, on the “drive toward self-education” and the popular slogan “The Schoolmaster is Abroad.”

<sup>44</sup> See, in particular, the work of Martyn Lyons, summarized in Martyn Lyons, “New Readers in the Nineteenth Century: Women, Children, Workers,” in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), pp. 313-44; and in his more detailed study of French popular reading, Martyn Lyons, *Le Triomphe du livre: Une histoire sociologique de la lecture dans la France du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Promodis, 1987).

<sup>45</sup> Jonathan Rose, “Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 1 (1992): pp. 47-70, esp. pp. 55-56.

<sup>46</sup> James A. Secord, *Visions of Science: Books and Readers at the Dawn of the Victorian Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

concerns of popular education in the West.<sup>47</sup> Far from being “common readers,” the nineteenth century is a tale of *uncommon* global readers – readers around the world who were often neither commoners in social status, nor with much in common at all, but who nonetheless converged upon the same textbooks. If we are to truly understand the consequences of cheap pedagogical print in the nineteenth century, we must thus shift our attention to the networks that brought these disparate readers together into one global moment. We must seek to understand why textbooks circulated so profusely, and how transnational circulation connected disparate audiences around the world.

To be sure, book history has in recent years made significant attempts to widen the scope of its transnational inquiries. Once, “transnational” meant the cross-Channel circulation of Eisenstein’s *Grub Street*, the continental circulation of Chartier’s *Cardenio*, the transatlantic circulation detailed by Raven and McGill.<sup>48</sup> Today, we have studies of the Oxford University Press in India, of the Stanhope press in Persia, of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* in multiple Indian Ocean vernaculars;<sup>49</sup> we have programmatic calls for a

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<sup>47</sup> On “upcycling,” see see Antoinette Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr, “Introduction. The Spine of Empire? Books and the Making of an Imperial Commons,” in *Ten Books That Shaped the British Empire: Creating an Imperial Commons*, ed. Antoinette Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 16-20.

<sup>48</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Grub Street Abroad: Aspects of the French Cosmopolitan Press from the Age of Louis XIV to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Roger Chartier, *Cardenio between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The Story of a Lost Play* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2002); Meredith L. McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

<sup>49</sup> Rimi B. Chatterjee, *Empires of the Mind. A History of the Oxford University Press in India under the Raj* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006); Nile Green, “Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30, no. 3 (2010): pp. 473-90; Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim’s Progress* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).



“global book history.”<sup>50</sup> Both groups of works are to be praised. Both, however, also possess critical limitations. In particular, their geographies of circulation still remain bound to two very circumscribed and overlapping maps – the map of capitalism, and the map of empire.<sup>51</sup>

This brings me to my second major contribution. I do not wish to deprecate the value of existing scholarship on the internationalization of the book trade, or on the imperial book. It was through the context of empire, after all, that the first study of the circulation of European textbooks outside of the Western world was launched.<sup>52</sup> I do wish to suggest, however, that by confining us to commerce and colonialism, these works inadvertently sketch a closed communications circuit incapable of grasping the dynamics of nineteenth-century circulation. Put differently, these narratives define globalization as a commercial (and capitalist commercial) and imperial phenomenon. In doing so, they neglect to observe how the globalization of books was often conditioned precisely by

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<sup>50</sup> For three early and programmatic essays, see Isabel Hofmeyr, “The Globe in the Text: Towards a Transnational History of the Book,” *African Studies* 64, no. 1 (July, 2005): 87-103; Mark Gamsa, “Cultural Translation and the Transnational Circulation of Books,” *Journal of World History* 22, no. 3 (2011): pp. 553-75; Jean-Yves Mollier, “Pour une approche globale de l’histoire du livre, de l’édition et de la lecture,” in *Essais d’histoire globale*, ed. Chloé Maurel (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2013), pp. 93-103. More recently, see Sydney Shep, “Books in Global Perspectives,” in *Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Leslie Howsam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 53-70.

<sup>51</sup> And, at that, primarily the British empire. For some of the more prominent studies in this vein, see Priya Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture and the English Novel in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002); Robert Fraser, *Book History through Postcolonial Eyes: Rewriting the Script* (London: Routledge, 2008); Ulrike Stark, *An Empire of Books: the Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007); *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37, no. 2 (2004), Special Issue on “The Nineteenth-Century Press in India.” The two main exceptions, to my knowledge, are the following edited volumes, which at the very least incorporate token essays on areas outside of empire, e.g. Japan: Swapan Chakravorty and Abhijit Gupta, eds., *New World Order: Transnational Themes in Book History* (Delhi: Worldview Publications, 2011); Robert Fraser and Mary Hammond, eds., *Books without Borders*, vol. 1 (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>52</sup> This began as a panel at SHARP in 2009, titled “Educating the Empire: Beginning a Transnational Book History Project.” The participants were Francis Galloway, Ian R. Willison, Swapan Chakravorty, and Simon Eliot, of the Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London. No written product ever emerged, but their SHARP panel proved to be extremely popular. See Mary Hammond, “SHARP Toronto 2009,” *SHARP News* 18, no. 4 (Autumn, 2009): p. 5.

how books fall and slip out of singular communications circuits at certain moments of conjuncture – how they are parasitic upon, but not subject to, the expected logic of trade and empire. Publishers between Britain and France, between France and Germany, between Britain and the U.S., possessed determinate channels of commercial activity. So, too, were the relations between Longman and John Murray and its branches in India established through a combination of semi-commercial and semi-governmental agreements. With Japan, however, this was primarily not the case. By the 1870s, as we shall see, Japan did engage in a handful of official commercial contracts with publishers in the West such as the New York publishers Putnam & Sons. For the most part, however, the history of the textbooks I describe is one where a series of seemingly unrelated decisions, through no coordinated plan on the part of publishers, educational officials, or missionaries, joined together at moments to create channels for books to circulate to Japan.

The study of these hidden conjunctures, in combination with an attention to readers beyond “women, children, and workers,” teaches us two things. First, we must resist reducing textual globalization to only commerce and colonialism, and look instead at the times when these modes of distribution fortuitously aligned with others, creating new opportunities for books to become mobile. Second, and more importantly, we must consider how these new alignments, new synchronicities, and new connections reveal unseen similarities between seemingly incongruous groups of readers in the nineteenth century. As Roger Chartier has warned us, pre-existing social categories do not map neatly onto patterns of cultural circulation; it is rather the map of cultural circulation that

should be used reimagining social structure.<sup>53</sup> This latter gesture does not entail the erasure or flattening of existing social distinctions – categories of gender, class, and ethnicity will always remain important – so much as an act of gazing laterally across cleavages and partitions, perceiving the unlikely alliances that may run through them. In our struggle to rescue the mechanic, the factory girl, the subaltern, from the enormous condescension of posterity, we have penned histories of labor and histories of gender and histories of colonialism. Yet we have ignored, to our loss, how all these actors were linked at a certain nineteenth-century moment as subjects of education, as readers of a shared modern textbook. By understanding the hidden conjunctures and alignments that brought together these audiences – audiences who should have nothing in common – we may arrive not only at a history of global education, but, more suggestively, at a history of the global reader.

The most ambitious model of such global readerships has been, to date, Isabel Hofmeyr's concept of an "imperial commons." Print matter, as it moved through the British Empire, created a shared resource for multiple, non-homogenous reading publics that coexisted within imperial space.<sup>54</sup> Working against studies that anchor print circulation to the formation of publics, classes, genders, ethnicities, and nations, Hofmeyr therefore offers a more flexible approach, allowing us to perceive how diverse groups were connected by overlapping webs of a "paper empire." In contrast, then, to Benedict Anderson, who saw in print capitalism the homogeneous production of national

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<sup>53</sup> Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 6–8.

<sup>54</sup> Thus far, the term has been applied solely to Anglophone works within the British Empire prior to enforceable norms of international copyright. For further elucidation, see, Antoinette Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr, eds., "Introduction. The Spine of Empire? Books and the Making of an Imperial Commons," in Antoinette Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr, eds., *Ten Books that Shaped the British Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 1–28, esp. pp. 4–6.

consciousness, Hofmeyr proposes we understand the effects of the imperial commons as “dispersed” and “deterritorialized.”<sup>55</sup>

I share this urge with Hofmeyr, but suggest that even “empire” constrains our understanding of the far limits of nineteenth-century dispersion and deterritorialization. Truly global readerships were not grounded within any single political formation or linguistic community. They were always fuzzy and unstable objects, congealing, mutating, and dissipating in short spans of time as their conjunctural conditions passed. Membership in them was transient; communication and conscious recognition among members often weak or non-existent. Yet children in London, workers in Amsterdam, Christians in China, settlers in Indonesia, and elite Confucians in Japan – at moments before our era of the global village, they read the same books. By telling the story of these global readers, we may deterritorialize proprietary claims over the book, combat the propensity of power to partition, and illustrate how cultural and geopolitical difference, far from being the source of civilizational clashes and antagonisms, can be ultimately generative of new and unanticipated connections.

These concepts of conjuncture, synchronicity, and global readership are the key to understanding this dissertation’s intervention in Japanese history. So I turn to Japan in ending this historiographical review, clarifying my use of the term “Western knowledge.” Researchers of Japan will be familiar with a similar term, “Western Learning,” as the commonly accepted translation of *yōgaku* 洋学. This term supplanted “Dutch Learning,” or *rangaku* 蘭学, from the late 1840s onward, as Japanese scholars diversified their linguistic skills to encompass English, French, and German, and to a degree also Russian.

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<sup>55</sup> Burton and Hofmeyr, “Introduction,” pp. 2-3.

In its historical usage, “Western Learning” enjoyed higher currency among its practitioners, or at least those neutral to the study of the West. Those hostile to it employed more pejorative terms, such as “Barbarian Learning,” or *bangaku* 蛮学.<sup>56</sup> “Western Learning” also marked Japanese approaches as distinct from the study of Western arts and sciences in China and Korea, a more continuous tradition, since the early era of Jesuit encounter, denoted by the term *xixue* 西學.

“Western Learning” is therefore not only an emic term, designating the specific time and place of early modern Japan; it is also normative term, that designates an intellectual movement, with a certain set of political, social, and cultural agendas. Indeed, research on Western Learning marks out its own distinct subfield of national history within the Japanese academy, with multiple dedicated societies and journals.<sup>57</sup> The foundational works of this historiography centered around an exploration of Western Learning’s relation to the once-dominant question of Japanese national history: whether Japan after the Meiji Restoration was more “feudal” or “modern.” Did Western Learning strengthen Japan’s feudal characteristics and ideology, or did it help foster opposition and a modern critical spirit? This was the problem that obsessed an early generation of scholars, starting first during the wartime, and continuing through roughly the first decade of the postwar. On the former side were, most prominently, Itō Tasaburō 伊藤多三郎 and Numata Jirō 沼田次郎, who argued that the Tokugawa shogunate “enjoyed a

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<sup>56</sup> This term appears as early as the anti-Jesuit astronomical treatise *Kenkon bensetsu* (1659), and persisted throughout the Tokugawa period, for instance, in the works of Matsudaira Sadanobu. See Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信, *Taikan Zakki* (ca. 1790), in *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1980), p. 72.

<sup>57</sup> Several societies, such as the *Rangaku shiryō kenkyūkai* 蘭学資料研究会, have come and gone, but the most prominent still remaining is the *Yōgakushi kenkyūkai* 洋学史研究会. The major publications today are *Yōgakushi kenkyū* 洋学史研究, *Yōgaku* 洋学, and *Itteki* 一滴. Of these, only the latter two are published regularly.

monopoly on Western arts, sciences, and culture.”<sup>58</sup> On the latter side fell such names as Takahashi Shin’ichi 高橋 嶺一, Fujiwara Osamu 藤原 治, Tōyama Shigeki 遠山 茂樹, and Hani Gorō 羽仁 五郎, for whom “Western Learning” represented the early seeds of “scientific research fit for the practical, everyday life of the people.”<sup>59</sup> Synthesizing these debates was Satō Shōsuke 佐藤 昌介, who argued that “Western Learning” demonstrated both these characteristics. Although oppositional potential had been present in its early years, feudal institutions increasingly coopted Western Learning scholars from the 1850s onward, later incorporating them into the Meiji state.<sup>60</sup>

In the decades since Satō, research on Western Learning has suffered from involution and dissipation. The loss of a singular paradigm or question has given way to a complacent pluralism that, while allowing for more diverse research, often fails to contribute to any clear shared project. Perhaps the most dominant trend has been a turn toward local history, launched by Tazaki Tetsurō 田崎 哲郎 and carried on by Aoki Toshiyuki 青木 歳幸.<sup>61</sup> These works identify the domestic networks of Western Learning

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<sup>58</sup> Itō Tasaburō 伊東多三郎, “Yōgaku no hito kōsatsu 洋学の一考察,” *Shakai keizai shigaku* 7, no. 3 (1937): pp. 251-70; Numata Jirō 沼田次郎, *Bakumatsu yōgakushi* 幕末洋学史 (Tokyo: Tōkō shoin, 1950). The quote is from Numata, *Bakumatsu*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>59</sup> Takahashi Shin’ichi 高橋 嶺一, *Yōgakuron* 洋学論 (Tokyo: Mikasa shobō, 1939), pp. 120-21; Tōyama Shigeki 遠山 茂樹, “Sonnō jōi shisō to nashonarizumu 尊王攘夷思想とナショナリズム,” *Tōyō bunka kōza* 東洋文化講座, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Hakujitsu shoin, 1948); Hani Gorō 羽仁 五郎, *Arai Hakuseki Fukuzawa Yukichi: Danpen Nihon ni okeru kyōiku no sekaiteki shinpo ni taisuru senkusha no kiyo* 新井白石・福沢諭吉—断片 日本に於ける教育の世界的進歩に対する先駆者の寄与 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1937); Hani Gorō, *Bakumatsu ni okeru shisō dōkō* 幕末に於ける思想的動向 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1933).

<sup>60</sup> Satō Shōsuke 佐藤 昌介, *Yōgakushi kenkyū josetsu: yōgaku to hōken kenryoku* 洋学史研究序説——洋学と封建権力 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1964). An English summary, biased, may be found in Numata Jirō, “Studies in the History of Yōgaku: A Bibliographical Essay,” *Acta Asiatica* 42 (1982): pp. 75-101.

<sup>61</sup> Tazaki Tetsurō 田崎 哲郎, *Zaison no Rangaku* 在村の蘭学 (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1985); Aoki Toshiyuki 青木 歳幸, “Sōmō no rangaku 草莽の蘭学,” in Takeuchi Makoto, ed., *Bunka no taishūka* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1993), pp. 219-68; Aoki Toshiyuki, *Zaison rangaku no kenkyū* 在村蘭学の研究 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1998). In Anglophone scholarship, see Ellen Gardner Nakamura, *Practical*

scholars, the manner in which they shared knowledge, and the variation in local meanings assigned to Western Learning.

My choice of the term “Western knowledge” signals an intention to cut laterally across this stream of Japanese intellectual history and resituate it within the broader context of how Western knowledge became a global problem in the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup> It was in the middle quarters of the nineteenth century that missionaries announced “the spread of European knowledge among the natives,” and colonial bureaucrats announced the arrival of “European knowledge...within the reach of all classes of people.”<sup>63</sup> It was the middle quarters of the nineteenth century that Sebastian Conrad branded as part of the “long history of Enlightenment,” suggesting that the “vibrant and heated contestations” of nineteenth-century Asia destabilize Eurocentric chronologies that see Enlightenment ending circa 1800.<sup>64</sup> In 1842, a defeated China began to import sciences from the West under a rubric of “self-strengthening”; in 1854, Wood’s Educational Despatch launched the British restructuring of Indian education. Japan was only one point in this larger

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*Pursuits: Takano Chōei, Takahashi Keisaku, and Western Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005).

<sup>62</sup> In this, I share an outlook similar to that of Ann Bowman Jannetta, *The Vaccinators: Smallpox, Medical Knowledge, and the ‘Opening’ of Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007). There are also similarities in my intention to the work of Tsukahara Tōgo, who has suggested that Western Learning be re-examined vis-à-vis its relation to Dutch “colonial science,” particularly in the figure of Philip Franz von Siebold. See, for instance, Tsukahara Tōgo 塚原東吾, “Kagaku to Teikokushugi 科学と帝国主義,” *Kagaku kenkyū* 53 (271): pp. 281-92.

<sup>63</sup> [Church Missionary Society]. *Occasional Papers on India. No. V. Despatches by Sir John Lawrence, G.C.B., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, on Christianity in India* (London: Church Missionary House, 1859), p. 4; “Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council (no. 49, dated 19 July 1854),” in *Bureau of Education, India. Selections from Educational Records. Part II 1840-1859*, ed. J.A. Richey (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1922), pp. 364-93.

<sup>64</sup> Sebastian Conrad, “Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique,” *American Historical Review* 117, no. 4 (Oct., 2012): pp. 999-1027.

constellation, and it is only by understanding the pattern of this constellation as whole that we can renew our understanding of Japan.

Indeed, situating Japan within this constellation allows us to renegotiate our periodization and timeline of early modern Japan, making evident how its cultural and intellectual history has always been part of a larger global history of knowledge. Tacit throughout this dissertation is a claim that since the 1790s, Japan, from the standpoint of the knowledge it consumed, was irrevocably a part of the modern world. The decades stretching from the French Revolution through the end of the Napoleonic Wars, branded more recently as a global “age of revolutions,” coincided with a fundamental reorientation both of Japan’s attitude toward, and of the networks through which it accessed, Western knowledge.<sup>65</sup> Fears of encroachment following the Laxman Incident (1792) propelled shogunal authorities to invest more heavily in the acquisition of Western books, and eventually in 1811 create a dedicated research group for them – the Corps for the Translation of Barbarian Books 蠻書和解御用.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, the types of books imported during this time started to skew increasingly toward forms of cheap pedagogical print, powered by geopolitical shifts that altered the structure of Dutch presence in Southeast Asia and British and American encroachment farther into the Pacific.

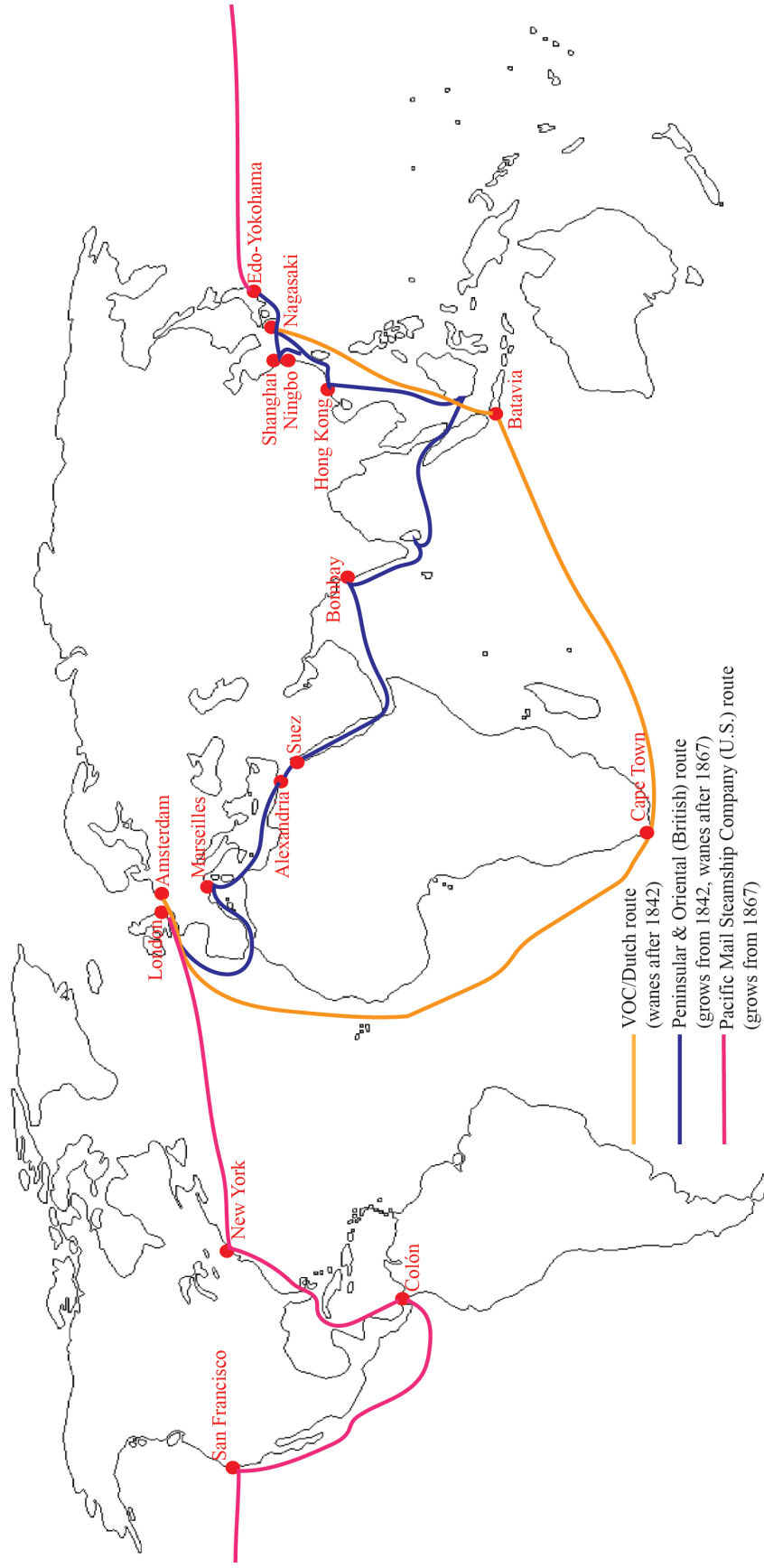
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<sup>65</sup> See David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Introduction: The Age of Revolutions, c. 1760-1840 – Global Causation, Connection, and Comparison,” in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760-1840*, ed. David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), xii-xxxii.

<sup>66</sup> In the late autumn of 1792, the Russian officer Adam Laxman landed at the northern tip of the island of Honshū with the task both of repatriating a Japanese castaway, and of negotiating a Russo-Japanese trade agreement. Negotiations, notoriously, failed, leading to one of the first articulations on the part of the Tokugawa shogunate of a policy of “closure.”



Specifically, the history of Japan's relation to Western knowledge from the 1790s running up through the first decade of Meiji (ca. 1880) may be periodized vis-à-vis its relation to three networks of book circulation that at first overlapped, and in the long run displaced one another. After the collapse of the VOC, and the emergence of a more robust and directly administered Dutch overseas settler society, flows of cheap pedagogical print from the Netherlands around the Cape of Good Hope to colonial Indonesia largely determined the variety of European-language books available for Japanese readers. This network began to be gradually overtaken starting in the mid-1840s, when the results of the First Opium War gave rise to British presence in East Asia, and the Peninsular & Oriental company dominated the mails. During this period, missionary presence in select Chinese port towns patched together networks that resulted in the circulation to Japan of European-language textbooks translated by missionaries into Chinese. Along with missionary networks, individual merchants who had drifted through China into Japanese ports also acted as middlemen for the importation European-language textbooks. Finally, by the end of the 1870s, major Japanese dealers had begun to forge their own commercial relations with publishers abroad, particularly in the United States. The U.S.'s role as intermediary for the provision of European-language textbooks was heightened by the establishment of the the Pacific Mail and Steamship Company in 1867, whose San Francisco to Yokohama line provided faster shipping to Japan than European mail services, even after the opening of the Suez Canal. The growth of this U.S.-Japan relation was concurrent with a movement away from textbooks as the primary means of acquiring Western knowledge.



**0.3 Major Circuits for Western Books to Japan (and their relative periods of activity)**

Tracing out the full implication of these knowledge networks is obviously a more ambitious project. Within this dissertation, I single out textbooks as a common epistemic vector for the movement of Western knowledge in the nineteenth century, offering select microstudies of how textbooks traversed each of these networks. As individualized microstudies, my research therefore remains more suggestive than fully comprehensive in its description of the dimensions of this broader constellation. Nevertheless, I believe that from the chapters that follow, we may see my primary contention that the textbooks available to and utilized by Western Learning scholars in Japan were, through the extent of their global travels, anything but “Western knowledge.” Though they may have had their physical origins in the printing houses of Europe, we should not allow this notion of “origins” to lead us into believing that these textbooks as fundamentally Western. For it is the journey of circulation, rather than the point of departure, that makes and remakes, reshapes and invents anew, the epistemic object that is the book. The mediation of networks that criss-crossed India, Indonesia, and China palpably transformed Western knowledge prior to its arrival in Japan, often in ways unrecognizable for those at a point of “origin.” In this sense, by moving from Western Learning to Western knowledge, I am ultimately contending that new histories of Western Learning should not merely seek to explain how Japan learned the West, but also demonstrate how the very thing that Japanese scholars called “Western knowledge” was forged through global, connected histories of circulation.

### **Considerations on Method**

A dissertation of this breadth encounters serious challenges of method, and my greatest regret is to have fallen short thus far in fully overcoming these challenges. The result is an unevenness to the analytical and narrative rhythm in the chapters that follow. Rather than attempt to justify this by a post-hoc rationalization, I believe it wiser to lay out biographically the steps through which this project developed, offering readers a more honest account of why the dissertation takes its current imperfect form.

I began this project with the simple goal of reconstructing the library of the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books 蕃書調所 as a way of understanding how the shogunate engaged with Western knowledge. This interest on the part of the shogun began during the reign of Tokugawa Yoshimune (r. 1716-45), but at the time consisted mostly of piecemeal inquiries conducted by the shogunal librarian 書物方, and the Astronomical Bureau 天文方. It was not until 1811 that the shogun appointed an official body of scholars to study Western texts, under the name of the Corps for the Translation of Barbarian Books 蠻書和解御用. From this corps, in 1856, the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books was established, with the ostensible goal not only of conducting research, but also of training a new generation of students with the necessary skills to navigate the new international climate in Japan. The naming of the Institute had always been a point of contention; in 1862, it became the Institute for the Investigation of Western Books 洋書調所, then in 1863 the Kaiseijo 開成所. This latter name it retained until 1869, when it became the Daigaku Nankō 大学南校, as part of a short-lived attempt

to create centralized higher education that ended in 1872, when it was rebranded the Kaisei Gakkō. Finally, in 1877, it became Tokyo Imperial University.<sup>67</sup>

The books that once belonged to this series of organizations are today divided between several collections. The majority imported before 1868 are at the National Diet Library (mostly Dutch; 3,630 volumes), and the Aoi Bunko Collection of Shizuoka Prefectural Library (mostly English, French, and German; 2,325 volumes), with a few remaining volumes at the National Archives. Volumes after 1868 are mostly in the library of the University of Tokyo (mostly English, French, and German; 1,450 volumes), though some are also at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, which split off from the Kaisei Gakkō. My task, then, was to identify these volumes, thereby offering a macro-level portrait of the textual resources used to study and acquire Western knowledge.<sup>68</sup>

As I began my research, however, I experienced a frustration that many of these books were low-level introductory textbooks, or else titles aimed at educating popular audiences. These posed less of an interest to me intellectually, for their content was, in many cases, nothing short of soporific. All this changed, however, when, during an idle moment in the Asian and African Reading Room of the British Library, I decided on whim to search for the terms “school book” and “textbook.” Doing so revealed a vast

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<sup>67</sup> For a timeline, see Rangaku shiryō kenkyūkai 蘭学資料研究会, ed., *Yōgaku kotohajime-ten: Rangaku no sho-keiretsu to Edo bakufu kyūzōhon* 洋学ことはじめ展：蘭学の諸系列と江戸幕府旧蔵本 (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1954).

<sup>68</sup> Many of the Dutch books had admittedly already been catalogued. Rangaku Shiryō kenkyū kai 蘭学資料研究会, ed. *List of foreign books collected under the Shogunate Regime. Lijst van boeken in buitenlandse talen verzameld door het Shogunat.* 江戸幕府旧蔵洋書目録 (Institute for the Study of the Netherlands Books Office, N.D.L. Ueno Branch Library: Ueno, Tokyo, 1957). An early catalogue was made of the Aoi Bunko holdings, but either due to lack of bibliographical experience with Western books, or else a lack of care, this catalogue was error-ridden and lacking vital information, frequently failing to mention the date of publication, publisher, or falsely transcribing the title. It also did not describe valuable features such as seals (which help date the year of a book’s importation), or marks of reading. See Shizuoka Kenritsu Chūō Toshokan Aoi Bunko 静岡県立中央図書館葵文庫, ed., *Edo bakufu kyūzō yōsho mokuroku* 江戸幕府旧蔵洋書目録 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka kenritsu chūō toshokan, 1967).

correspondence in the India Office Records on textbooks to be exported to the colonies, and reports on missionary printing. Many of these titles were the same ones I had seen in Japanese collections. My question then changed: why were textbooks such a common experience for the non-West? And what implications did this have for the circulation of Western knowledge?

Though I resolved to take my dissertation in the direction of these latter questions, doing so gave birth to several tensions. To begin with, I learned the difficulty of conducting genuine transnational research that is not coterminous with forms of imperial history. As I have stressed above, one of the goals of this dissertation is to use the textbook to examine transnational book circulation in ways that reveal hidden conjunctures irreducible to either the history of the imperial book or the history of global print capitalism. While attractive conceptually, this proved to be far easier said than done. There are practical reasons why so many transnational histories cling to the arc of empire, or else the arc of economic actors such as the VOC and EIC. Sitting in the British Library in London, sitting in the National Archives in The Hague, the world appears connected; it makes sense as one. Researching against the grain of these archives, slipping through its interstices to find alternative connections, blurs such unitary sensibility. The world becomes once again messy, plural, and in a sense fragmented. In the end, then, I have continued to rely heavily on the reports and correspondence of trading companies, colonial officials, and missionaries. It is therefore legitimate to question whether I have really found a way out of empire, or even, as I claim, a way out of the binary of “Japan” and the “West.”

A second tension I experienced concerned the balance of interests between my training as a historian of Japan, and my desire to write a much wider history of knowledge in which Japan occupies only one fraction of the narrative. To be trained as a national historian is to possess a unique hermeneutic toolkit. This toolkit can be as helpful as it is hindering. It is helpful, in that it offers a mastery of local context and a deep philological appreciation. It is hindering, in that it conditions us to ignore alternative contexts that may at first appear distant from the perspective of the nation. More colloquially, we might say that national history functions as an answer key to a game of connect-the-dots. It teaches us how to compose a pleasing image from a set of seemingly unrelated points. Transnational history begins with the abandonment of this pleasing image. It begins with the realization that there are many possible ways to connect these dots, and that though their results often appear crude, confusing, or non-sensical, the shapes they trace out may nonetheless be true.

So how have I connected the dots? At its core, my dissertation remains rooted in the collection of the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books and its later incarnations, running down to Tokyo Imperial University. Most of these chapters begin with a problem posed by some aspect of the Institute's collection, be it an individual volume, or a corpus of texts, and from there branch outward, situating that problem in a longer transnational history. My choice of books and corpora often stems from an individual logic. In most cases, I was first attracted by some unique material feature of a book, be it physical alteration of the book's structure, or the presence of marginalia and other readers' marks. The dissertation therefore engages heavily at certain points with methods from analytical bibliography, using small material details to draw broader

conclusions about how texts were circulated and transformed. An added benefit of this approach has been my reorientation of intellectual history away from the analysis of thinkers and their ideas, and toward a new set of sources that speak to the underlying practices of knowledge production, whether in the form of publishers' archives or the archival record of middlemen merchants or minor textbook authors. One could say therefore say that my approach throughout tends to imply a double deflation: away from canonical texts, and toward textbooks; away from intellectuals, and toward the brokers of ideas.

While branching outward both geographically and across different genres of source material, I have attempted to balance commitments to Japanese history and to a global history of knowledge. However, the scale admittedly leans toward the former in some chapters, and toward the latter in others. I will be the first to admit that I have not quite found the ideal balance.

Indeed, the pitfalls of branching outward haunt this dissertation. Conducting this sort of research resembled a sort of treasure hunt, following one clue through all the sources that might tell me about it. This entailed significant work in a series of archives with which I had little familiarity – the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, for instance, the London Missionary Society archives at SOAS, the Dutch East India Company archives in The Hague, the National Archives at Kew Gardens. Branching outward proved not only time consuming, but also made it difficult to refocus and systematize at the end. The result is, as mentioned previously, a series of rich microhistories. But I am painfully cognizant of their failure to approach a truly synoptic view of Western knowledge.



Furthermore, in branching outward, rather than comparing the Institute to similar centers of study in other domains of Tokugawa Japan, I have run the risk of oversimplifying Japan's engagement with Western knowledge. My use of the term "Japan" throughout this dissertation is often synecdochic, standing in for a handful of central elites in the service of the shogun. In addition, my decision to focus on these elites has been anachronistically informed by my vantage point today of knowing that the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books will become Tokyo Imperial University. The centralization of Japan's academic elite through Tokyo Imperial University does make it a representative site for the study of modern – that is Meiji – intellectual life. In the era before, however, one could conceivably argue that shogunal scholars were not definitive of Japanese intellectual ferment.<sup>69</sup> I accept these claims of partiality, and hope to rectify them in successive research by examining the libraries and reading practices of non-shogunal scholars, as well as the thought of popular audiences to whom the content found in European-language textbooks filtered piecemeal through acts of translation. Even in its current state, however I believe that my dissertation still opens a powerful new contextualization of Japanese intellectual practices within a global context.

In the end, it may thus be more useful to read this work not in the hopes of finding a complete survey of the question of Western knowledge and nineteenth-century Japan, but instead as an opening provocation concerning lines of research previously ignored by the field. Or, put differently, the measure of my dissertation's utility and impact is not to

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<sup>69</sup> Miyazaki Fumiko, for example, has argued that the Tokugawa shogunate had difficulties recruiting some of the best scholars in the land, and in several cases converted scholars from outside domains into vassals of the Tokugawa household in order to secure them for the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. See Miyazaki Fumiko 宮崎ふみ子, "Bansho Shirabesho – Kaiseijo ni okeru baishin shiyō mondai 蕃書調所＝開成所に於ける陪臣使用問題," *Tōkyō Daigaku-shi kiyō* 東京大学史紀要 2 (1979): pp. 1-24.

be found in its comprehensiveness, but instead in its ability to generate bold research agendas for the future.

## **Chapter Outline**

The five chapters that follow explore from different angles the four principal networks that mediated the textual flow of Western knowledge via textbooks and cheap pedagogical print into Japan, concentrating in particular on a period roughly between the 1840s to the 1870s, but pushing out both earlier and later at both ends when necessary.

**Chapter One** begins by looking at Dutch texts and the role of colonial Java in the transformation of Western knowledge. It tells the story of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*, a penny periodical inspired by the activities of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Following this work from Europe into Indonesia, and emphasizing the unique features of the book economy in the latter, I illustrate the reasons for which the *Magazijn* became a global text, and more particularly emphasize the material changes undergone by the *Magazijn*'s volumes as they traveled. These changes lay a groundwork for thinking about the unstable relation between "Western knowledge" and the physical artifacts that carried it around the world.

I perform a similar analysis in **Chapter Two** upon the *Circle of Knowledge*, focused now instead not on Dutch connections, but on missionary print in Chinese port towns. A British textbook authored originally for the deaf, the *Circle of Knowledge* went on to enjoy widespread popularity abroad, first in colonial schools in India. In the early 1850s, the British missionary James Legge, then stationed in Hong Kong, took up the *Circle* within the context of missionary debates concerning Chinese translation. It was Legge's dual-language translation that then made its way to Japan. Once in Japan, it came

to be used both as a textbook for Chinese, and as a resource for scholars in natural history who found a resource in the *Circle*'s systematic taxonomy of vocabulary. If the function of textbooks is to teach, then the story of the *Circle* shows that the question of what content is actually taught by any given textbook remains radically open.

**Chapter Three** considers Chinese missionary textbooks more broadly. By demonstrating the parallels between ongoing Japanese political battles and Chinese missionary debates over opium, I highlight a very specific ideological convergence that spurred the popularity of Chinese missionary textbooks in Japan of the late 1850s and early 1860s. I further support this through a look at the official shogunal sponsorship of these textbooks. The importance of these works to the shogunate's enterprise helps counter narratives that allege an intellectual break between Japan and China following the First Opium War, while also demonstrating an unexpected collusion between the interests of Christian missionaries and the putatively anti-Christian shogunate. Instead, through the missionary link, a sustained Sino-Japanese relationship continued to play a pivotal role in Japan's early modernization.

With the opening of its port towns to foreign residents, individual merchants, rogues, and adventurers began to wash ashore in Japan. Among these, several became involved either in the sale or production of textbooks. **Chapter Four** examines the career of two of these figures, whom I label as "Enlightenment dealers" – those who came to Japan solely for their own profit, but in the process gave Japan access to books vital for its acquisition of Western knowledge. Specifically, I introduce readers to John Hartley, a British merchant who sold, among other things, textbooks, and then to Jakob Kaderli, a Swiss adventurer who authored the first textbooks of German designed for Japanese

audiences. Through these, I show how with the introduction of foreign settlers after 1858, the economy of textbook imports came to be powered by a host of less than savory profiteers.

**Chapter Five**, my final chapter, returns to broad themes and more traditional methods of intellectual history. Here, I examine changes in the discourse surrounding textbooks over the course of the first half of the Meiji period. The eclecticism of the Kaisei Gakkō students with which I began this introduction were part and parcel of an epistemic culture of Western knowledge produced by the study of textbooks. The values of this culture were reconfigured at the beginning of the Meiji period, but the practices largely remained the same; textbooks continued to be well regarded as sources of study for major scholars through the end of the 1870s. Beginning in the mid-1880s, however, anxieties over an unruly market of pedagogical print, combined with a concern for the disciplinary structure of the modern university, coalesced into a movement to drive textbooks out of recommended reading lists. In the process, a new paradigm of Western knowledge, a new canon of Western reading, as well as a new identity of the scholar, came into being.

**CHAPTER I**  
**Serial (Mis)understandings:**  
**The Hermeneutics of Loss and the Global Reader**

What should a nineteenth-century Japanese scholar read to learn about the West? This was the question that Koga Kin'ichirō 古賀謹一郎 (1816-84) asked himself when, in 1865, he set about to “know the prosperity of the Western arts and sciences.”<sup>1</sup> Books on the Western arts and sciences were, by his own admission, “growing more detailed and more numerous with every day.”<sup>2</sup> Selecting the best one would therefore prove no easy task.

But at the age of nearly fifty and positioned in one of the highest scholarly posts of Japan, Koga, more than anybody, should have been in an excellent position to obtain just the right books. To begin with, he was inheritor of one of the richest scholarly lineages in Tokugawa Japan. His grandfather, Seiri 精里 (1750-1817), had overseen the reforms that elevated the private academy of the Hayashi household into the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo, the shogunate's national academy for Confucian studies; his father, Dōan 洞庵 (1777-1836), had upheld the family name by serving as headmaster of the same academy for nearly two decades. Born on the grounds of the Academy itself, Kin'ichirō, too, had earned a name as a major Confucian scholar and shogunal advisor.

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<sup>1</sup> 「知西人術藝之盛大」. Koga Kin'ichirō, *Donichi kangen* 度日閑言 (ca. 1865-67), vol. 7, 跋, 827-58, Rare Books and Old Materials Reading Room, NDL. The following references employ the volume number according to the current binding of Koga's reading diary. It is evident that this was a later binding by the NDL, and they therefore do not correspond with Koga's original division of volumes. The diary was originally foliated using a sequence of Chinese characters. The result of rebinding, however, has meant that identical folio numbers appear within the same volume. I have thus omitted folio numbers, instead indicating only the volume, and the entry heading.

<sup>2</sup> 「其術藝之書日精日多」. Koga, *Donichi*, vol. 1, 序.

Even more advantageous than this genealogy was his promotion to a new position in 1857. Since roughly two years prior, Kin'ichirō had been involved in protracted debates over the conversion of the shogunate's corps of Western Learning specialists, housed within the Astronomical Bureau, into a full-fledged academy for the study of the West, dubbed finally the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books 蕃書調所. Though a dedicated Confucian scholar, Koga maintained a liberal stance on the opening of Japan to foreign presence. Dōan, his father, had late in his career already turned into an ardent Russia-watcher, authoring two works on Russian history, and furthermore, in the aftermath of the First Opium War, had emerged as one of the few contrarian voices to argue that Japan should seek to ally itself with Western powers.<sup>3</sup> Kin'ichirō, too, was no stranger to the West. In 1843, he initiated a dialogue with a returned Japanese castaway, publishing their compiled conversations in 1849 under the title *Conversations with the Barbarians* 蕃談.<sup>4</sup> So it was that when the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books finally launched in mid-spring of 1857, Kin'ichirō was appointed headmaster at its helm.

What, then, did Koga read, when he wished to read of the Western arts and sciences? Given his position of authority, we might expect major works, impressive tomes that spoke the secrets of civilization's growth. Luckily, Koga was a copious note-taker, leaving with us twenty-five volumes of a journal that documented his reading over

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<sup>3</sup> *Oroshiya kibun* 俄羅斯紀聞 and *Oroshiya jōkei okutaku* 俄羅斯情形憶度. In addition, Dōan left forty volumes of manuscript notes on Russia. On the Koga family, see Makabe Jin 真壁仁, *Tokugawa kōki no gakumon to seiji: Shōheizaka Gakumonjo jusha to bakumatsu gaikō hen'yō* 徳川後期の学問と政治: 昌平坂学問所儒者と幕末外交変容 (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku shuppankai, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> For a quick survey of Koga's contributions to Western Learning, see Ishiyama Yō 石山洋, "Koga Kin'ichirō to rangaku 古賀謹一郎と蘭学," *Rangaku shiryō kenkyūkai hōkoku* 195 (1967): pp. 145-51.

the course of 1865-1867.<sup>5</sup> And when we open this journal and begin examining Koga's sources, we are confronted with a sudden surprise. For as the journal reveals, his reading consisted not of major works, but almost entirely of articles from the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*, a popular Dutch educational periodical for the working class patterned off the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge's *Penny Magazine*.

What was an elite Confucian scholar doing with a cheap magazine for the poor and uneducated? Literacy was, admittedly, one significant factor. Recording in his diary his very first impression of the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, Kin'ichirō confessed, "All there were in the school were foreign Western books, and I could not read any of them."<sup>6</sup>

Still, Koga was likely exaggerating when he wrote this remark. As researchers of the Koga family have pointed out, Koga's private library did contain some Dutch texts, suggesting that he was at least partially literate. Many of us, after all, have languages that we can make out, but of which would not feel comfortable claiming true knowledge in a scholarly setting. It is therefore not unbelievable that Koga may have known more of Western languages than his modesty would admit.

More importantly, however, I wish to suggest here that literacy, while important, is better relegated to the status of an entry point into a much larger problem of global history. From his structural position of relative linguistic ignorance, Kin'ichirō inadvertently forged links between Japanese intellectuals and the popular educational periodicals that swept Europe during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>5</sup> See Note 1. As mentioned, these twenty-five volumes have now been rebound into fifteen.

<sup>6</sup> 「校中所有皆外洋図書而吾皆不能読」 Koga Kin'ichirō, *Shigen nisshutsu* 厩言日出 (ca. 1857), vol. 1, 827-57, Rare Books and Old Materials Reading Room, NDL.

Examining the felicitous conjuncture between these forces – their contingent, rather than elective affinity – suggests to us ways in which the global reader, in a time before the global village, peeked his head above the horizon, if only for a moment.

According to the broad contours of the history of reading in the West, a late eighteenth-century bourgeois revolution in romantic, intensive reading gave way by the 1830s to a revolution for the “common reader.”<sup>7</sup> In conjunction with textbooks, cheap periodicals such as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge’s *Penny Magazine* stood at the heart of this revolution. Placed in the context of an industrializing post-Revolutionary Europe, these periodicals have been portrayed as a top-down efforts to discipline “women, children, and workers,” entertaining and edifying them with the “right kind” of knowledge deemed appropriate to their lower social station.<sup>8</sup>

Women, children, and workers, however, were not the only ones to find entertainment and edification in the pages of these new popular periodicals. Alongside their ranks, too, we must count a population seemingly incongruous: elite Japanese scholars. The revolution of the “common” reader should thus also be seen through its unintended global reverberations. How did popular educational periodicals circulate from the hands of “women, children, and workers” into the hands of Japan’s most privileged scholars? How did this process of circulation transform these periodicals? And how did these transformed periodicals influence the practices through which Japanese scholars acquired Western knowledge?

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<sup>7</sup> The foundational study in this field is Altick, *The English Common Reader*; see also Jonathan Rose, “Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 1 (1992): 47-70.

<sup>8</sup> On this new reading public, see R.K. Webb, *The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1971), pp. 13-35; Martyn Lyons, “New Readers in the Nineteenth Century: Women, Children, Workers,” pp. 313-344.



In what follows, I answer these questions by tracing the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* from its creation in 1830s Amsterdam through its reception in colonial Java, and finally to the desk of Koga Kin'ichirō at the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books in Japan. Specifically, I highlight two themes that illustrate the conjunctures through which global readers emerged, and the epistemic transformations produced by circulation. First, I demonstrate the ways in which a periodical meant primarily for a poor and uneducated working class came to be reappropriated as materials for fostering bourgeois sociality within the context of Dutch settler society in Batavia (Jakarta), thereby paving the way for their entry into Japan. Second, I offer a close physical and bibliographical account of the material changes undergone by the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* within the specific economy of books in Dutch Indonesia. On the basis of these two analyses, I proceed to argue that the material changes resulting from circulation enabled alternative understandings of the *Magazijn* once it reached Japan. Ultimately, my overarching contention is that the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*'s global travels gave rise to a new physical artifact, in turn generating a new kind of knowledge, as well as a divergent set reading practices necessary for acquiring that knowledge.

#### **“To All Classes of Readers, Even the Less Educated”**

The publishers of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*, Pieter Arnold (1804-74) and George Friedrich Diederichs (1799-1862) – better known by their professional appellation the Gebroeders (Brothers) Diederichs, were born into the second generation of a family of booksellers. Their father, George Albert Diederichs (1761-1816) had first registered as in Amsterdam on May 15, 1781, as a *boekverkoper*, but the principal innovations that turned earned their business its initial fame all occurred after his death,

under the watch of his wife, Maria Elizabeth née Schreiber (1764-1822).<sup>9</sup> These changes reflected new conditions of bourgeois readership in the Netherlands at the dawn of the nineteenth century. In 1817, Maria embarked upon a circulating periodical service (*lees-instelling*) for readers within Amsterdam. According to their catalogues, the service promised a selection of Dutch, French, German, French, or English periodicals of the subscriber's choice, delivered personally to their doorstep. Upon delivery, the subscriber had four days within which to read the periodical, after which an agent of the Diederichs would arrive with a new periodical, and collect the old one for delivery to another subscriber. The annual fee for the service – anywhere from sixty cents to three guilders and eighty cents depending on the range of titles chosen – was significantly cheaper than annual subscription costs for a single journal title, offering variety at a reduced price.<sup>10</sup>

Along with this circulating door-to-door service, the widow Diederichs also founded a lending library. For two stuivers per volume and a safety deposit, one could borrow up to four volumes daily from the family bookstore, located centrally in Amsterdam's Bloemmarkt. The library's target audience of a cultivated urban bourgeois was clear: advertisements for the lending library were frequently issued in French rather than Dutch, calling attention to a "grande bibliothèque de lecture" of nearly 70,000 volumes and 25,000 unique titles across all major European languages.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> For an overview of the firm's history, see Chantal Keijsper, "'Alle vakken, alle vormen, alle prijzen': het fonds van de negentiende-eeuwse Amsterdamse uitgeverij de Gebr. Diederichs," *De Boekenwereld* 14 (1997/98): pp. 54-68.

<sup>10</sup> See the "Voorwaarden van Abonnement" in *Lees-instelling van alle hollandsche, hoogduitsche, fransche en engelsche, zoo wel binnen- als buitenlandsche tijdschriften* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Diederichs, 1818), pp. 3-7. These catalogues, published yearly until the abandonment of the circulating subscription service in 1840, contain a complete list of the periodicals on offer by the Diederichs.

<sup>11</sup> "Grande / Bibliothèque / de / Lecture, / composée d'au moins 65,500 volumes / d'ouvrages allemands, hollandais, français, / anglais et italiens; / et / abonnement de lecture / à des ouvrages périodiques." Cited in Keijsper, "Alle vakken," p. 66.

When Pieter and George took control of the bookstore in 1823, they continued both services. By decade's end, however, their business strategy had begun to diverge. Rather than merely providing access to existing works, the Gebroeders Diederichs wished instead to establish themselves as publishers, particularly in the field of newspapers and periodicals. The first step toward this goal was the creation of the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant* in 1830, which grew in the next year to incorporate the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, after the latter's editor was forced into exile for his aggressive advocacy of Belgian independence. Meeting with quick success – they soon purchased two more houses on the same block – they proceeded to the next logical step from newsprint: magazines. The circulating subscription service and lending library were gradually phased out over the course of the 1830s; in the meantime, the Gebroeders Diederichs expanded their catalogue of periodical publications to cover an astonishingly diverse range of subjects, including *De Moniteur* for literature, *Cybele* for geography and ethnography, *De Boerhaave* for medicine, the *Magazijn der Voorwereld* for natural history, and over ten other titles on topics from fashion to political commentary.<sup>12</sup>

Out of these periodicals, the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* was their most prized in terms of revenue, and also the most far-reaching in its impact.<sup>13</sup> Even in its own time, it was recognized as a significant event in Dutch publishing history, marking the first

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<sup>12</sup> Other titles included *De Echo*, *Het Toneelklokje*, *De Atlas*, *De Naprater*, *Psyche*, *Le Bon Ton*, *L'Élégant*, *Onze Tijd*, *Schatkamer voor alle standen*, and, of course, the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*. For a list, see Keijsper, “Alle vakken,” p. 61 n. 15.

<sup>13</sup> We can in part infer its economic importance from the fact that when the brothers broke at the end of 1846 and Pieter took over sole control of the business, he auctioned off the majority of their catalogue – approximately 91% of their stock (although he would eventually buy much of this back). The *Nederlandsch Magazijn* was one of the slim 9% of titles retained by Pieter. See the auction catalog: *Catalogus eener aanzienlijke verzameling van ongebonden boeken of kopijen uitmakende het fonds der firma Gebroeders Diederichs* (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Diederichs, 1847). Note that even after George Friedrich withdrew from the business, Pieter retained the term “Gebroeders” in the firm name.

appearance of a penny periodical in the Netherlands.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the Gebroeders Diederichs quite openly admitted in the first issue of the *Magazijn* that their efforts had been directly inspired by the British *Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, and a pre-publication prospectus attests that their originally anticipated title had been, simply, *Hollandsch Penny-Magazijn*.<sup>15</sup> Though the title was changed, nuances still remained in the *Magazijn*'s eventual subtitle, to wit, "for the diffusion of general and useful arts [*ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden*]."

More importantly, the Diederichs agreed closely with the *Penny Magazine*'s underlying philosophy that cheap periodical print was the ideal medium with which to respond to rising calls for popular education.<sup>16</sup> Established in 1826, the SDUK had declared in its founding statement the intention to "leave nothing undone, until knowledge has become as plentiful and as universally diffused as the air we breathe."<sup>17</sup> Specifically, for the SDUK, the means by which knowledge would be diffused universally was self-evident: by making books cheap. In their own words, their activities would be centered around, quote "the publication of useful works, in a comprehensive

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<sup>14</sup> For instance, Pieter Arnold's obituary in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 12 April 1874: "De uitgaaf van het Penningmagazijn, van het Nederlandsch Magazijn en van dergelijke geïllustreerde, populaire werken, was toen een belangrijke gebeurtenis, en door deze soort van literatuur hier te lande ingang te verschaffen, hebben de Gebr. Diederichs den weg helpen banen voor het vele goede, thans te onzent op dit gebied geleverd."

<sup>15</sup> *Hollandsch Penny-Magazijn*, Map Prospectussen Gebr. Diederichs. (Amsterdam, UB, collectie KVB. Hierna: KVB).

<sup>16</sup> For a survey of the SDUK's motives from the perspective of its publication activities, see Harold Smith, *The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1826-1846: A Social and Bibliographical Evaluation* (London: Vine Press, 1974), pp. 29-37; Scott Bennet, "The Editorial Character of the *Penny Magazine*: An Analysis," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 17:4 (1984): pp. 127-41; Reinhard Kaiser, "Das 'Pfennig-Magazin.' Ein Orbis xylographicus des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Reinhard Kaiser, ed., *Das Pfennig-Magazin der Gesellschaft der Verbreitung gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse. 1833-1842* (Nördlingen: Franz Greno, 1985), pp. i-vi.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Brougham, *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers* (London: Longman, 1825), p. 33.

form, and at such a cheap rate, as to render them attainable by the poor.”<sup>18</sup> The ultimate outcome would be a utopia of knowledge. “Cheap literature will so widen the circle,” wrote the SDUK’s publisher, Charles Knight, “that all mankind can share in the ‘feast of reason.’”<sup>19</sup> This attitude linking economic savvy with the universal diffusion of knowledge was encapsulated in the oft-repeated motto adorning the pages of their publications: “The bent of civilization is to make things cheap.”<sup>20</sup>

Immediately after their founding, the SDUK began experiments in cheap print through a series of elementary textbooks, dubbed by them the “Library of Useful Knowledge.” At an average of thirty-two pages each, and resembling rather pamphlets, these textbooks concentrated upon introducing readers to key ideas of modern science, as well as explaining the function of various technologies.<sup>21</sup> The “Library of Useful Knowledge,” however, met with less success than the SDUK would have liked, and far less than was deemed economically necessary by its printers, Baldwin & Cradock. Moving away from the “Library,” the SDUK then teamed with the printer Charles Knight upon a new venture. This venture – their most successful and most remembered – was the *Penny Magazine*.

It is vital to understand that the *Penny Magazine* was never designed to be an original work. Its task was to act as a redistributive mechanism. As phrased by its American counterpart, the goal of penny magazines in general was

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<sup>18</sup> Describing the SDUK, in Preface to the Second Volume, *Family Magazine, or General Abstract of Useful Knowledge* 2 (1835): p. [i].

<sup>19</sup> “On Writing for the People,” *Knight’s Penny Magazine* 1 (1846): p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> For their interpretation of this motto, see “Cheap Books,” *Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* 2, no. 51 (19 Jan 1833): p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> James A. Secord, *Visions of Science: Books and Readers at the Dawn of the Victorian Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 109.

to collect, condense, and systematize the great mass of general knowledge contained in myriads of volumes, and lying altogether beyond the reach of the great body of the community... This being our primary object, it will not be expected of us to fill our paper with original matter. We shall fill it principally with what is already known – in order to make it known to others.<sup>22</sup>

To do so, the *Penny Magazine* borrowed the majority of its contents from other books, especially its own textbooks in the failed Library of Useful Knowledge, serializing its contents into short, easily-digestible snippets. Behind this practice was a consideration of reader psychology. A less literate reader, they reasoned, might be hesitant to open up a longer book, because books seemed intimidating in their very size, representing a commitment of time and energy they were loathe to give. In contrast, if they encountered it in the form of a short article, the very same text might attract a wide readership. This logic was stated clearly in the *Penny Magazine*'s third issue: "There are a great many persons who can spare half an hour for the reading of a newspaper, who are sometimes disinclined to open a book."<sup>23</sup>

The SDUK's point, therefore, was just as much about the *form* knowledge would take, as it was about the economics of diffusion. And the Diederichs understood this message well. On the one hand, the brothers repeatedly expressed a view that their *Nederlandsch Magazijn* had been designed with a mind to easy prose and alluring illustrations, in order to cater "not solely to highly cultivated circles, but to *all* classes of readers, even the least educated [*niet uitsluitend voor de hoogere beschaafde kringen*,

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<sup>22</sup> To the Public, *Family Magazine, or General Abstract of Useful Knowledge* 1 (1834): p. [i]. The SDUK was known for its stance against copyright, which it branded as one of several "taxes on knowledge." See Catherine Seville, *Literary Copyright Reform in Early Victorian England: The Framing of the 1842 Copyright Act* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 21-22, 28-29, 105-106.

<sup>23</sup> "Reading for All," *Penny Magazine* 1, no. 3 (1832): p. 31.

*maar voor alle klassen van Lezers, ook de minst onderrigte*].”<sup>24</sup> Though hardly new, their call still possessed a capacity for controversy, evidenced by the fact that those very “men of leaning and science [*mannen van studie en wetenschap houden er zich niet meê op*]” who were not the Diederichs’ target audience at times directed ire and criticism toward the *Magazijn*.<sup>25</sup> One student at Leiden, mourning the relative emptiness of his university lecture halls, offered the following eulogy for an age: “Now...the nation is taught by penny magazines; now men follow a whole different method of training and learning skills [*Nu...de natie door Penning-Magazijnen onderricht wordt, nu men zulk een geheel andere manier van opvoeden en ter aanleering van kundigheden volgt*].”<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand, cheap print promising knowledge for the uneducated also made clever economic sense. In terms of unique titles, the two most prominent genres for Dutch publishers in the first half of the nineteenth century were moral and religious tracts, followed by textbooks, educational aids, and reference works.<sup>27</sup> The cost for a textbook, however, could often amount to nearly twice as much as the *Magazijn*’s annual subscription fee of five guilders, which itself already represented approximately a working week’s wages for a Dutch laborer.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Nederlandsch Magazijn* 1, no. 52 (1834): p. 415; Advertisement, *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel* 6:13 (28 March 1839).

<sup>25</sup> Arie Cornelis Kruseman, *Bouwstoffen voor een geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel, gedurende de halve eeuw 1830-1880*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1886), p. 276.

<sup>26</sup> Entry for 10 January 1835, in Nicolaas Beets, *Het dagboek van de student Nicolaas Beets, 1833-1836*, ed. Peter Zonneveld (The Hague: Nederlands Letterkundig Museum en Documentatiecentrum, 1983), pp. 130-31.

<sup>27</sup> J.J. Kloek and W.W. Mijnhardt, *Leescultuur in Middelburg aan het begin van de negentiende eeuw* (Middelburg: 1988), p. 59. These are modern genre groupings used by Kloek and Mijnhardt, and do not exactly represent the genre groupings employed by publishers at the time, although the precise meaning of a genre was often slippery even for the same publisher concerning his own works over time.

<sup>28</sup> Six guilders (postage included) for those subscribers living outside of Amsterdam. On the price of a textbook, see Keijsper, “Alle vakken,” p. 62, which gives a figure of ten guilders and thirty cents. Keijsper’s figures, however, also include textbooks aimed for higher audiences, e.g. university textbooks,

The *Magazijn* set its sights upon this trend by culling articles explicitly from these two genres. Its pages – eight weekly – adhered consistently to a predictable format: seven pages of educational content, followed by a final page comprising a moral lesson or exhortation, all heavily illustrated throughout by wood engravings. Articles in the first category tended to fall into one of three categories – in order of frequency, geography and history, natural history, and natural philosophy – though many of these were selected with a view toward providing helpful insights on conduct in everyday life.<sup>29</sup> The articles normally ran the length of one page, divided into two columns, and out of the numerous penny periodicals of its era, the *Magazijn* was known for maintaining the tightest standards on article length, fearing that longer articles would lose the attention of its less educated target audience. Moral lessons at the end of each issue were even shorter – half a page or less – and tended to stress the importance of bourgeois social institutions, with titles such as “Work,” “Property,” and “Rich and Poor.”

Above all, both educational and moral articles were often direct excerpts taken from titles in the Diederichs’ own catalogue. Though a certain portion, particularly during the *Magazijn*’s first decade of publication, were translated directly from entries in the British *Penny Magazine*,<sup>30</sup> one finds increasingly over time notes signaling the source – always on offer from the Diederichs – from which a given article had been redacted. Thus, in the *Magazijn*’s last issue for July 1835, we find an excerpt from the second edition of

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and thus do not accurately reflect the average price for a simpler elementary work. On the average wages for the Dutch working class in the nineteenth century, see Izaak Johannes Brugmans, *De Arbeidende klasse in Nederland in de 19e eeuw, 1813-1870* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1961), p. 133.

<sup>29</sup> This is based off an analysis only of the Japanese-owned issues, 1834-1856.

<sup>30</sup> Ernest Claassen, “Het Nederlandsch Magazijn, het Nederlandsch Museum en De Honigbij. Drie geïllustreerde tijdschriften in de jaren dertig en veertig van de negentiende eeuw,” *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 5 (1998): p. 138.



Neil Arnott's *Principles of Physics* [*Grondbeginselen der Natuurkunde*], published by the Diederichs earlier that month. Similarly, a series of moral articles that appeared in the *Magazijn* over the course of 1840 all noted, in closing, that they were extracts from a work of William Hogarth, "the complete work of which, with 74 folio plates and Dutch text, can be obtained from the Gebroeders Diederichs of Amsterdam for 10 guilders."<sup>31</sup> Herein lay the dual appeal and advantage of the popular educational periodical for both their publishers and for consumers. Serials such as the *Magazijn* captured "the populous class of readers whose time or monetary resources are more limited [*de talrijke klasse van lezers, wier tijd of geldelijke vermogens meer beperkt zijn*]," and therefore unlikely to buy a more expensive textbook.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, they also provided a means for publishers to promote their own stock, luring readers in with previews of their contents and creating a desire for books they would not otherwise have considered purchasing.

While the symbolic significance of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* for a new age of "popular science" has become a historiographical commonplace, precise statistics evade us.<sup>33</sup> The Diederichs, of course, touted in public their great success, claiming that they had more than 8000 subscribers, but this figure is likely inflated. Current estimates propose a number closer to 5200, placing its circulation on par with that of household

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<sup>31</sup> *Nederlandsch Magazijn*, 2, no. 29 (Jul., 1835): p. 230; *Nederlandsch Magazijn*, 7, no. 5 (Feb., 1840): p. 33. "Bij de Gebroeders Diederichs te Amsterdam is het volledige waar, van den beroemden HOGARTH, in 74 folio platen met Nederduitschen test, verkrijgbaar à f 10.--." The Diederichs would continue to run articles feature wood engravings of Hogarth plates well into the 1850s. See *Nederlandsch Magazijn* 11, no. 48 (Nov., 1854): pp. 378.

<sup>32</sup> *Hollandsch Penny-Magazyn*, Map Prospectussen Gebr. Diederichs. (Amsterdam, UB, collectie KVB. Hierna: KVB).

<sup>33</sup> Joan Hemels and Renée Vegt, eds., *Het geïllustreerde tijdschrift in Nederland. Bron van kennis en vermaak, lust voor het oog. Bibliografie. Deel 1: 1840-1945* (Amsterdam: 1993); for a particular emphasis on its role in the dissemination of scientific knowledge, see Ernst Homburg, "From Chemistry for the People to the Wonders of Technology: The Popularization of Chemistry in the Netherlands during the Nineteenth Century," in Joachim Schummer, Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent, and Brigitte Van Tiggeln, eds., *The Public Image of Chemistry* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), p. 165.

almanacs.<sup>34</sup> To these revised figures, one might note that in its early years, the Diederichs may have anticipated greater demand than was actually existing. An 1839 entry in the *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel* advertised the availability of remaindered issues for all previous years, 1834-38, at half price; in 1842, the remaindered copies for the years 1834-39 were offered at the same discount, indicating that for the first half decade of its existence, the *Magazijn* perhaps did not sell as well as initially hoped.<sup>35</sup> From the 1840s onward, however, such advertisements disappear, and the Diederichs appear to have found their niche. Rather than remaindered copies at a heavy discount, we find in the classifieds of the 1851 *Nieuwsblad* inquiries from persons seeking *Magazijn* issues from 1844, and willing to pay up front in cash, suggesting that back issues had become relatively scarce.<sup>36</sup> By the 1850s, the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* had become a permanent fixture in the landscape of the popular educational periodical in the Netherlands.

And not just the Netherlands. By the 1850s, too, the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* had entered onto a global stage, making its way to Japan.

### **Colonial Sociality and the Globalization of the *Magazijn***

What should a European merchant in the early nineteenth century have brought with him, if he wanted to make a profit in Japan? In the era of the VOC and after, typical answers would have been sugar, or perhaps tin. Yet when the Flemish merchant N.J. de Cock, contemplating a mission to Japan, posed this question to his friend Captain Ary Bezemer in 1828, he received an unexpected answer.

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<sup>34</sup> Claassen, “Het Nederlandsch Magazijn,” p. 139.

<sup>35</sup> *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel* 6, no. 13 (4 April 1839): [n.p.]; *Boekzaal der geleerde wereld* 26, no. 1 (1842): pp. 133-34.

<sup>36</sup> *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel* 18, no. 42 (1851): [n.p.]

Bezemer had spent the year of 1825 stationed at Nagasaki, and knew the market climate there well. Pondering over a list of possibilities, he ultimately recommended just one to de Cock. “Bring books on medicine, chemistry, natural history, and astronomy,” Bezemer replied, “as well as language, including those for French and other languages.” Then, concluding his tip, Bezemer added that he had “purchased his books in Batavia.”<sup>37</sup>

Bezemer’s advice points to a fact overlooked by intellectual and cultural historians of early modern Japan. To wit, the central and most immediate mechanism conditioning the circulation of Dutch books to Japan was in many ways not the Dutch market itself, but the economy of books in Batavia. Physical evidence has always testified to this, but we have continued to ignore it. Major Dutch collections in Tokugawa Japan, such as that of the Hirado lord Matsura Seizan (1760-1841), and to a lesser extent that of the Institute, are comprised heavily of secondhand books bearing the *ex libris*, if not the marginalia of Batavian readers.<sup>38</sup> Other Dutch correspondence concerning the “private” or *kambang* trade (J: *wakini bōeiki* 脇荷貿易) of individuals makes frequent mention of books as a valuable commodity.<sup>39</sup> Taking Bezemer’s advice into account breaks down our binary model of “Japan” and the “West.” It forces us to consider how Indonesian society under Dutch colonial rule mediated the Western knowledge that entered Japan.

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<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Nagazumi Yōko 永積洋子, *18-seiki no ransho chūmon to sono rufu* 18 世紀の蘭書注文とその流布 (Tokyo: Monbushō kagaku kenkyūhi hojokin seika hōkokusho), p. 37.

<sup>38</sup> For an extensive study of the non-Japanese marginalia in Matsura Seizan’s collection of Dutch books, see Matsuda Kiyoshi 松田清, *Yōgaku no shoshi-teki kenkyū* 洋学の書誌的研究 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1998), pp. 309-717.

<sup>39</sup> Nagazumi Yōko 永積洋子, *18-seiki no ransho chūmon to sono rufu* 18 世紀の蘭書注文とその流布 (Tokyo: Monbushō kagaku kenkyūhi hojokin seika hōkokusho), pp. 3-5. More generally, on *kambang* trade in Japan, see Nagazumi Yōko 永積洋子, “Oranda shōkan no wakini bōeki ni tsuite: shōkanchō Meiran no setsuritsu shita kojīn bōeki kyōkai オランダ商館の脇荷貿易についてー商館長メイランの設立した個人貿易協会,” *Nihon rekishi* 379 (1979): pp. 55-90.

In particular, as it pertains to this section, we have three questions to untangle. First, why were books purchased in Batavia than at home? Second, how did the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* become an item in this trade? Third, what types of transformations did books undergo as they passed on their long journey from Europe, through Batavia, and finally into Japan?

For much of its history, Batavia occupied a low rung in the intellectual hierarchy of overseas sites for European erudition, particularly in terms of its print culture. After an aborted attempt by the Dutch Reformed Church to import a press in 1624, no further efforts were made until 1659, and then only for the purpose of printing local almanacs and official VOC documents.<sup>40</sup> The institutional landscape of bookselling was just as bleak. Visiting Batavia in 1685, the Abbé de Choisy was appalled by the inability to procure decent books. “I was at the only bookseller in Batavia,” de Choisy recalled, “to search for French books: there were none. But he did try everything he could to sell me the *Mercure Galant*.”<sup>41</sup> Books, then, were scarce, although it appears there were periodicals for purchase.

This scarcity of cultural goods and institutions had as much to do with the comparatively sparse settlement of Batavia under the Factory system as it had to do with the nature of VOC employees’ view that Batavia was only a temporary way station before retuning back to Europe with a new fortune. Ironically, it would only be after the VOC had begun its slow decline in the 1720s that Dutch residents began viewing Batavia

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<sup>40</sup> Adriënné Zuiderweg, “Een verblijfplaats voor onsterfelijken: een impressie van het culturele en literaire leven op Batavia (1619-1911),” *Literatuur* 17 (2000): pp. 132-41; Jeremias Jannes August Schill, *Over de drukpers in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leiden: S.C. van Doesburgh, 1863).

<sup>41</sup> *Journal du voyage de Siam fait en MDCLXXXV et MDCLXXXVI* (Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1687), p. 144. “J’ai été chez le seul Libraire de Batavie chercher des livres du païs: il n’en fait pas de cas; mais à toute force il me vouloit vendre le *Mercure Galant*.”

as a more permanent home, and moved to establish their own learned societies as well as higher institutions for the education of local-born sons and daughters of company men. Dubbed the “Indies Enlightenment” in contemporary historiography, the second half of the eighteenth century saw the emergence in Batavia of groups such as the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (*Bataviaasch Genootschap der Konsten en Wetenschappen*), and the creation of overseas branches for associations such as the Dutch Society of Sciences (*Hollandsch Maatschappij der Wetenschappen*), as well as the Freemasons.<sup>42</sup>

As part of this period of florescence, Batavia witnessed two related trends: the growth of private libraries, and the intensification of secondhand auction markets.<sup>43</sup> When the naturalist Friedrich von Wurmb (1742-1781) arrived in Batavia in 1775, he wrote home at first of his sense of alienation and distance from locals of European descent, who had adopted various indigenous customs such as chewing *siri* after meals. Only a few months later, however, he reported happily that he had once again discovered home abroad – in the private library of a new friend. “[I] meet with all the beautiful spirits of my fatherland,” von Wurmb wrote, “in his book collection.”<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Peter Boomgaard, “For the Common Good: Dutch Institutions and Western Scholarship on Indonesia around 1800,” in *Empire and Science in the Making: Dutch Colonial Scholarship in Comparative Global Perspective* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 139-40; Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), pp. 78-113. For further details specifically on the founding of the Batavian Society, its early membership, and its activities, see Hans Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltvrede: Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1778-1867* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009), esp. pp. 45-101.

<sup>43</sup> More generally, on the growth of private libraries in Batavia, see Katharine Smith Diehl, *Printers and Printing in the East Indies to 1850: Batavia* (Rochelle, NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1990), esp. Ch. 5, “Personal Libraries in Batavia.” Jonathan Israel also mentions a report of “impressive personal libraries in Batavia...well stocked with German philosophy.” See Jonathan Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750-1790* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 546.

<sup>44</sup> “Ich habe mir hier die Freundschaft eines Mannes erworben.... Ich finde eine ungemeine Erquickung für meine oft durstige Seele in seinem Umgange, und alle schöne Geister meines Vaterlandes treffe ich in seiner Büchersammlung an.” Tenth Letter, 30 October 1775, in *Briefe des Herrn von Wurmb und des Herrn Baron von Wollzogen auf ihren Reisen nach Afrika und Ostindien in den Jahren 1774 bis 1792* (Gotha: Carl Wilhelm Ettinger, 1794), p. 123.

The rise of personal libraries in Batavia stimulated the growth of the auction market for books, and it was in fact announcements of auctions, both for books and for other items, that constituted the primary form of “news” in the pages of local newspapers.<sup>45</sup> These auctions allowed for the circulation of books at what were recognized, by continental observers, to be extremely low prices. Assigned to military service in the East Indies, Karl von Wollzogen (1764-1808), the cousin of the aforementioned von Wurmb, took time off to search around Batavia for any traces of his relative, who had died in Batavia in 1781. In particular, rumor had it that “some books with notes in the hand of [von Wurmb]” had been floating around among local officials – books such as Johann Christian Polycarp Erxleben’s *Naturgeschichte*. The search, however, ended in failure. “To my sorrow,” von Wollzogen reported, “I learned that many beautiful rarities which your worthy brother had collected, which certainly cost him much toil and trouble, were auctioned off in a public sale for a trifling sum.”<sup>46</sup>

Yet the vagaries of this same auction market also had advantages. In the very same letter, von Wollzogen also praised Batavia for “the many private libraries here which, when their owner dies, are then customarily sold for a pittance on the public market.” In preparation for his departure, von Wollzogen browsed around these auctions to secure “entertainment” for the long sea voyage home, finding, among other offerings, works of Wieland, Lessing, and William Coxe. The unique secondhand market created

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<sup>45</sup> To wit, Batavia’s only local newspaper in the late eighteenth century was titled *Vendu Nieuws* – literally, “Auction News.” It ran from 1776-1799.

<sup>46</sup> “Ich erfuhre zu spät, daß noch einige Bücher mit Anmerkungen von der Hand Ihres seligen Bruders sich in den Händen eines hiesigen Offiziers befänden.... Vor meiner Abreise meldete er mir: daß es Erxlebens Natugeschichte gewesen, bereits aber ein Raub der Zerstörung geworden sei. Zu meinem Leidwesen habe ich erfahren, daß manche schöne Seltenheiten, die Ihr würdige Bruder gesammelt hatte, die ihm gewis viel Mühe und Arbeit gekostet, auf der öffentlicher Verkaufung um ein Spottgeld sind versteigert worden.” 14 Feb. 1791, *Briefe des Herrn von Wurmb und des Herrn Baron von Wollzogen*, p. 403.

by the proliferation of Batavian auction markets thus allowed for books otherwise deemed high-end to find a cheap second life far overseas. “Even Schiller’s *Don Carlos*,” expressed von Wollzogen in amazement, “has strayed hither, and provided me with quite pleasant entertainment on various days.”<sup>47</sup>

This auction market, saturated by unexpected books which had “strayed hither,” structured the availability of European-language texts for Japan during the first half of the nineteenth century. Due to their relative isolation and slow access to new books from continental Europe, the secondhand auction market proved a site for the repeated recycling of old print. And old print, after it had been repeatedly recycled down to the cheapest of prices, could then be purchased by the cunning merchant and resold for a handsome sum in Japan. This, then, is the likely reason why Bezemer bought his books in Batavia. But why might the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* be the right kind of book to sell to Japanese readers? And, first of all, what was it doing in Batavia at all?

Although colonial Batavian culture appeared finally to rise in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, this exact period was also the time when the VOC spiraled into decline. Whatever the efforts of the Batavian Society for the Arts and Sciences, prominent merchant-scholars such as Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812) continued to complain about the city’s lack of cultural and scholarly institutions in comparison with those of

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<sup>47</sup> “Was mir hier sehr wohl zu statten kam, waren die vielen Privatbibliotheken, die es hier giebt, und die, so oft ihre Besizzer sterben, alsdann gewöhnlich auf der öffentlichen Verkaufung um ein Spottgeld verkauft werden. Ich habe mir einen ganz artigen Vorrath zur Unterhaltung auf meine bevorstehende Seereise auf diese Art zusammen gekauft. Gökingks Gedichte, Wielands und Lessings sämmtliche Schriften, verschiedene Riesebeschreibungen, worunter Coxe's Reisen durch Rußland, Pohlen und Schweden u.d.m. befindlich. Selbst Schillers Don Carlos hatte sich hieher verirrt, und hat mich verschiedene Tage sehr angenehm unterhalten.”

British Bengal.<sup>48</sup> On December 31, 1799, on the eve of a new century, the VOC heaved its last breath, and was dissolved, leaving Batavia in limbo. Though the Netherlands came under French power in 1806, former VOC possessions in Southeast Asia were subject to continued contestation, as the British sought to secure control over maritime Asian trade. Finally, in 1811, Stamford Raffles marched into Batavia, declaring it under British rule. It was from this point onward, starting with Raffles' administration, that Batavia began its affair with cheap pedagogical print.

For along with the British came a fear – a sense that Batavia, left uncultivated as it had been, was failing to meet the necessary standards of bourgeois sociality and sociability fitting for Europeans. These fears were in part racially motivated; miscegenation was a prime target of British wrath. To counter this, Raffles embarked upon a project of enculturation. A new newspaper, the *Java Government Gazette*, was established. A theater hall, Equestrian Hall, and two benevolent institutions were erected. Curiously, Raffles, during his half-decade of power, neglected to open any schools. He did, however, begin a government-sponsored program for the importation of British textbooks.<sup>49</sup>

We see, as early as September of 1812, columns in the *Java Government Gazette* announcing the availability of newly-imported “school books” available for purchase through the Government Office in Batavia. These ranged in genre, from Guthrie's *Geography* and Goldsmith's *History of England Abridged*, to easy anthologies such as

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<sup>48</sup> For Titsingh's comparison of Calcutta and Batavia, see Charles Ralph Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in War and Peace, 1602-1799: A Short History of the Dutch East-India Company* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1979), p. 99.

<sup>49</sup> Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 102-10.



*Tales from Shakespeare*. A concern, too, for the female population – prone to intermarriage – was revealed in a number of titles for women, such as Barbauld’s *Female Speaker*. The books Raffles imported were primarily small and cheap – duodecimos comprised the majority, followed by octavos. At first, an attempt was made to include a smattering of other literary and philosophical readings, as well as helpful books on medicine, but by March of 1814, at latest, these had been removed, leaving only a “School Books” column.<sup>50</sup>

Batavian taste had turned to textbooks – or, more generally, to a project of bourgeois acculturation by means of cheap pedagogical print. This trend not only persisted, but intensified after Raffles and the British returned Batavia to Dutch rule in 1816. The reasons for this intensification lay in changes in the structure of Dutch rule. With the days of the VOC now past, the Netherlands assumed direct administrative control of their former trading station. The rise of direct colonialism in turn accelerated the growth of European settler society. By mid-century, the population of Batavia alone had nearly tripled. The need to create stable institutions of bourgeois sociability and an adequate cultural knowledge to accompany this grew ever more imperative.

The *Nederlandsch Magazijn* catered precisely to this need. Designed to acculturate the working class into the world of bourgeois knowledge, it worked, too, to acculturate colonial settlers, and later their offspring. This was especially welcome, as periodical culture in Batavia developed primary in the decades between 1840-60,

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<sup>50</sup> Merely as a sample: “New Books for Sale at the Govt. Office,” *Java Government Gazette* 1:29, 12 Sept. 1812; “New Books for Sale at the Govt. Office,” *Java Government Gazette* 1:33, 10 Oct. 1812; “School Books,” *Java Government Gazette* 3:107, 12 March 1814; “School Books,” *Java Government Gazette* 3:110, 2 April 1814.

coinciding roughly with the *Magazijn*'s arrival.<sup>51</sup> Two years passed after the *Magazijn*'s initial 1834 publication in Amsterdam before the first issues made their way to Batavia. We find, on June 18, 1836, the following advertisement in the *Javasche Courant*, heritor of the *Java Government Gazette*:



**1.1 First Batavian advertisement for the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*: *Javasche Courant*, 18 June 1836**

“*Nederlandsch Magazijn* for the diffusion of general and useful arts,” the advertisement reads, then continues, “(Penny Magazine) with around 200 wood-engraved plates, 1<sup>st</sup> year 1834, in neat boards. 8.50 / NB The magazijne from 1835 to follow very soon.”<sup>52</sup>

We will return to the full import of these details in a moment. For now, I note only that immediately following this first appearance, the *Magazijn* began quickly to prove its utility. The *Javasche Courant*, in particular, filled its “Miscellany” (*Mengelingen*) section with articles taken directly from the *Magazijn*, including snippets on the uses of iron, Christopher Columbus, and the formation of islands.<sup>53</sup> If penny magazines had themselves already been redistributive mechanisms of knowledge, then the *Javasche Courant* was further performing this redistribution once again. In one clearly identifiable instance, the *Javasche Courant* reprinted a passage the *Magazijn* had

<sup>51</sup> Figures generated from Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam, eds., *Aanwinsten betreffende de kolonien* (Amsterdam: Stads-drukkerij, 1904).

<sup>52</sup> *Javasche Courant*, 18 June 1836.

<sup>53</sup> “Het Ijzer,” *Javasche Courant*, No. 51, 25 June 1836; “Cristophorus Columbus,” *Javasche Courant*, No. 52, 29 June 1836; “Over het onstaan der eilanden,” *Javasche Courant*, No. 57, 16 July 1836.

already recycled from an astronomy textbook, Somer's *Tafereel van het Heelaal* – a book published, conveniently, by none other than the Diederichs.<sup>54</sup>

And it was not only the *Javasche Courant*. The *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, founded in 1838, reprinted from the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* at least twice during the course of 1841: first, an article on the *agnus scythicus*, or Scythian lamb, a mythical plant once believed to bear lambs as its fruit; second, on the *nymphaea lotus*, or tiger lotus. The former was from the *Magazijn*'s 1838 issue for the third week of October; the latter was from a mid-February issue for 1835.<sup>55</sup> Not only were these articles copied from the *Magazijn*, but the presumption of the *Tijdschrift*'s editor, the Dutch Reformed clergyman Wolter Robert van Hoëvell (1812-79), seems to have been that his readers would either have copies of the *Magazijn* on hand, or else have access to the cited issues. Due to the lack of a wood engraver, the *Tijdschrift* was unable to provide illustrations, and would instead reference images appearing in the *Magazijn* as a source for those interested in visualizations.<sup>56</sup>

What influence did all this have on the *Magazijn*'s passage to Japan? How, in short, did the experience of Batavia transform the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*? To answer this question, we must return to the advertisement cited above. Much of the information it conveys to us is expected. The two-year delay, from 1834 to 1836, makes sense, given

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<sup>54</sup> "Verschillende gevoelens der ouden omtrent de inrigting van het wereldstelsel en de gedaante der aarde," *Javasche Courant*, 24 Sept. 1834; Johann Gottfried Sommer, *Tafereel van het heelaal, of Bevatelijke en onderhoudende beschouwing van het uitspansel en van den aardbol*, trans. J. Olivier Jz. (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Diederichs, 1829). The article summarizes the Ptolemaic view of the universe and the shape of the Earth.

<sup>55</sup> *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 3:2 (1841): p. 264, 546; *Nederlandsch Magazijn* 5 (1838): p. 308; *Nederlandsch magazijn* 2 (1835): p. 41. Until I can consult local auction records from Batavia, reprinting stands as my best evidence that the *Magazijn* played a role in the town's colonial settler society.

<sup>56</sup> Batavian periodicals would not be heavily illustrated until after the 1870s, when lithography came into widespread use in the Dutch East Indies. See Ian Proudfoot, "Lithography at the Crossroads of the East," *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 27 (1998): pp. 113-31.

the distant journey around the Cape of Good Hope. The elevated price – to be lowered later by repeated passage through the secondhand auction market – also merits little comment. But what, about, the term, seemingly minor, “in neat boards” (*in netten cartonnenband*)?

Those who have glanced through antiquarian booksellers’ catalogues may have encountered the term. Most likely, however, they have found there a similar phrase, “in original boards.” The two terms designate the same material structure, but reveal a different set of value judgments – a judgment whose meaning will soon become clear.

It is a well-known fact that books, in the early modern period, were frequently sold unbound, typically as a stack of wrapped sheets, or in some cases pre-folded. The motivation behind this was to allow consumers themselves to determine the type of binding they desired for a book, and for this reason, bibliographers and book historians have used binding as one source to shed light on the relation users had to specific titles or groups of titles.<sup>57</sup>

From 1700 onward, it became increasingly common to offer some form of elementary and easily-dismantled binding to hold folded and gathered leaves together temporarily as books were distributed – increasingly, across longer distances, through the mail, and overseas routes. Temporary binding also had the convenience of providing consumers with a bound book, even if only cheaply bound, until a more final decision about binding was made.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> See, for instance, Ann Blair’s examination of the different titles with which Jean Bodin’s *Universæ naturæ theatrum* was bound. Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 180-224.

<sup>58</sup> For a brief summary of this earlier history, see Jonathan E. Hill, “From Provisional to Permanent: Books in Boards, 1790-1840,” *The Library*, series 6, 21, no. 3 (1999): pp. 247-73.

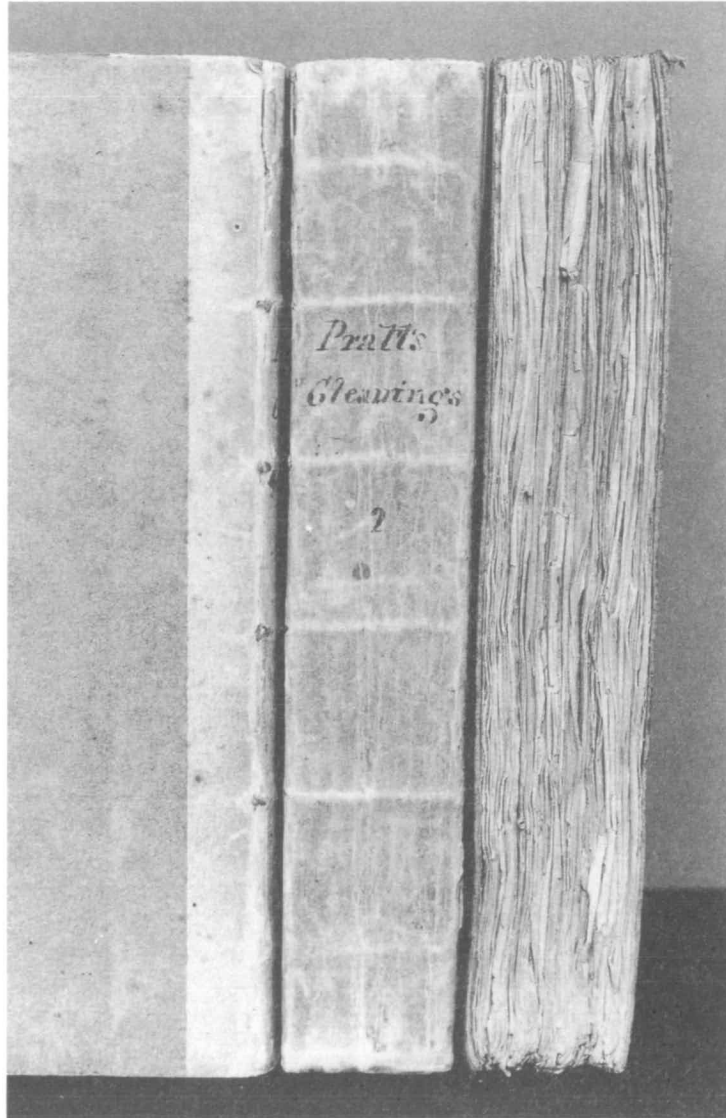
The term “in neat boards” refers to this temporary binding. Specifically, it refers to the following process: the sheets of a book, once folded and gathered, are roughly stabbed through with string, after which two thin pasteboard sheets are placed at both ends, and held together with a thin strip of paper glued over the spine that connects the pasteboards.<sup>59</sup> This form of binding was quick; it was cheap. It was not, in most cases, designed to last for more than a short while, and therefore comparatively flimsy and destructible. By 1790, “in boards” had come to signify not only temporary binding, but also a binding for items of books of little value that had little preservation value – books that consumers would probably allow to expire, rather than cherish.<sup>60</sup> Hence the term “original boards” for today’s antiquarian booksellers: to find a book “in original boards” today means to find a book that never received a decent binding, yet against all odds survived. “Their fragility,” writes one collector’s manual, “demands respect.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> John Carter and Nicolas Barker, *ABC for Book Collectors*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2004), pp. 47-48.

<sup>60</sup> Jonathan E. Hill, “From Provisional to Permanent: Books in Boards, 1790-1840,” pp. 247-73.

<sup>61</sup> John Carter and Nicolas Barker, *ABC for Book Collectors*, p. 219.



**1.2 Binding “in boards”:** A well-preserved specimen of “in boards” binding, in Hill, “From Provisional to Permanent,” p. 251

Only “respect” was not on the minds of the *Magazijn*’s original consumers in nineteenth-century colonial Batavia. The *Magazijn* arrived in boards, and, if the evidence from Japan is any indication, was resold secondhand on the auction market in boards, in a state ever more battered. It is this condition of physical transformation – of loss and degradation – that we must keep in mind when we consider what object it really was that made its way to Japan under the name of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*. For as a material

bearer of Western knowledge, the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* had become something wholly different.

### **The Serial West and the Hermeneutics of Loss**

The *Nederlandsch Magazijn* had made its way to Nagasaki by 1847 at latest, when the register of imported books recorded full-year installments of the *Magazijn* for 1834 and 1836. The sequence of issues and years continued after that in a jumbled fashion – the annual compilation for 1848 arrived almost immediately, in 1849, whereas in 1841 came the 1847 compilation and another copy of the 1836 compilation, and then in 1854, compilations for 1836, 1845, and 1849.<sup>62</sup> As of 1857, a one-year compilation sold for approximately three *ryō* – considerably cheaper than most imported European-language books, whose prices frequently stood above 20 *ryō*, but still over a hundred more times expensive than one volume of an average Japanese *sharebon*, a genre of comic novel popular since the late eighteenth century. Indeed, issues of the *Magazijn* were valuable enough such that in 1852, when Katsu Kaishū's younger sister married Sakuma Shōzan, she allegedly brought as her dowry a selection of books, among them volumes of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*.<sup>63</sup>

To what use, if any, these volumes were really put during earlier years is uncertain; we can say only that they arrived. The remaining evidence consists of scattered anecdotes, in the fashion of the dowry story above. There appears, for instance, to have been some confusion at first between the *Magazijn* and a similar monthly periodical

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<sup>62</sup> 6171.92-18.37, Oranda mochiwatari shoseki meichō 阿蘭陀持渡書籍銘帳, Ansei yon-nen 安政四年, Takeo Nabeshima Collection 武雄鍋島文書, University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute. An earlier arrival is possible, but we do not have reliable documentation concerning this. 1839 was the first year the shogunate mandated that Nagasaki officials compile and submit a full list of European-language books coming through the port, and documentation is missing for 1840-44, and 1846.

<sup>63</sup> Yanagida Izumi 柳田泉, “Koga Chakei-cho *Donichi kangen* 古賀茶溪著『度日閑言』,” p. 215.

published by the Diederichs, the *Schatkamer voor alle standen*, or “Treasure Room for those of All [Social] Stations.”<sup>64</sup> An entry from 1855 in the diary of Soegawa Rensai 添川廉斎 (1803-58) mentions an article from the “Dutch Treasure Chest” published in the year 1839, but a search reveals that this must have been the *Magazijn*, and not the *Schatkamer*.<sup>65</sup> There would seem also to have been some confusion about the nature of this genre of periodical literature in general. One copy of *Onze Tijd*, another cheap pedagogical periodical published by the Diederichs, features a bibliographical note by a Japanese reader that describes it as the “collaborative work of various scholars” (諸先生合著).<sup>66</sup> In a sense, this was true – some of the authors of the textbooks from which the Diederichs poached to obtain their magazine articles were, in their own right, scholars. But to frame the *Onze Tijd*’s authorship as such misses the wider intent of periodical: that it was a vehicle of knowledge vulgarized for audiences with no scholastic background at all.

Only from 1856 onward does the evidence become clearer, for it was in 1856 that the Tokugawa shogunate began to express an interest in the *Magazijn*, purchasing a complete set of the 1834-1846 run. In the next half-decade, the shogunate continued to acquire missing issues, and by 1860 had all volumes up to the end of 1856. We know this

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<sup>64</sup> One reason for this might have been that in 1842, the *Schatkamer* was included in the yearly compilation of the *Magazijn* as a free bonus. This was likely a promotional campaign, since 1842 was the first year the Diederichs began publishing the *Schatkamer*. See *Boekzaal der geleerde wereld, en Tijdschrift voor de Protestantsche Kerken, in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* 26, no. 1 (Jan., 1842): pp. 133-34.

<sup>65</sup> Soegawa Rensai 添川廉斎, *Yūsho Fuisai zatsuroku* 有所不為齋雜錄, vol. 2 ([n.p.]: Nakano Dōko, 1942), pp. 78-79. “Japan,” *Nederlandsch Magazijn* 6 (1839): p. 201.

<sup>66</sup> *Onze Tijd* 4 (1849). AN-270-3, Aoi Bunko, Shizuoka Prefectural Library, Japan.



because the copies survive. They are held today by the Tokyo National Museum in Ueno.<sup>67</sup>

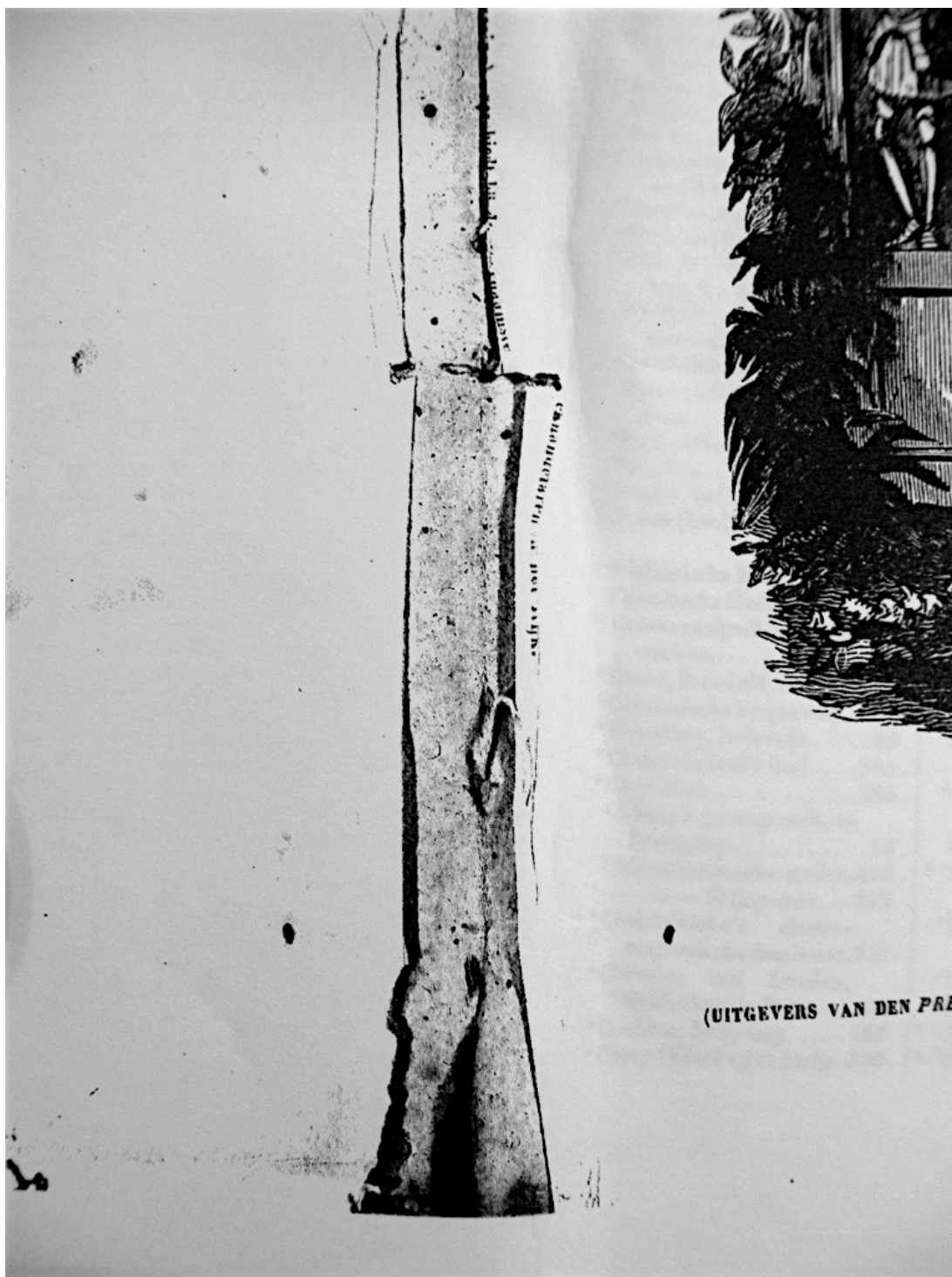
An examination of these copies teaches us two things. First, we discover that these copies belonged to the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, whose seal appears on the title page of each annual volume. Second, we perceive that at their very material level, the copies of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* sitting in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum are another kind of artifact, different from what we would find were we to request the *Magazijn* while at the National Library in The Hague.

The *Nederlandsch Magazijn* was first published in 1834. For the shogunate, it arrived over two decades later, in 1856. Bound in the cheapest of temporary bindings for its export – “in neat boards” – the *Magazijn* had, across this two decade interim, survived ocean air and the jostling of waves; it had survived the sweat and dirt of Batavia, passing from hand to hand, recycled and resold on the auction market, and with each passing suffering ever more physical strain. The *Nederlandsch Magazijn* as it arrived in Japan was, physically, something other: an object utterly destroyed.

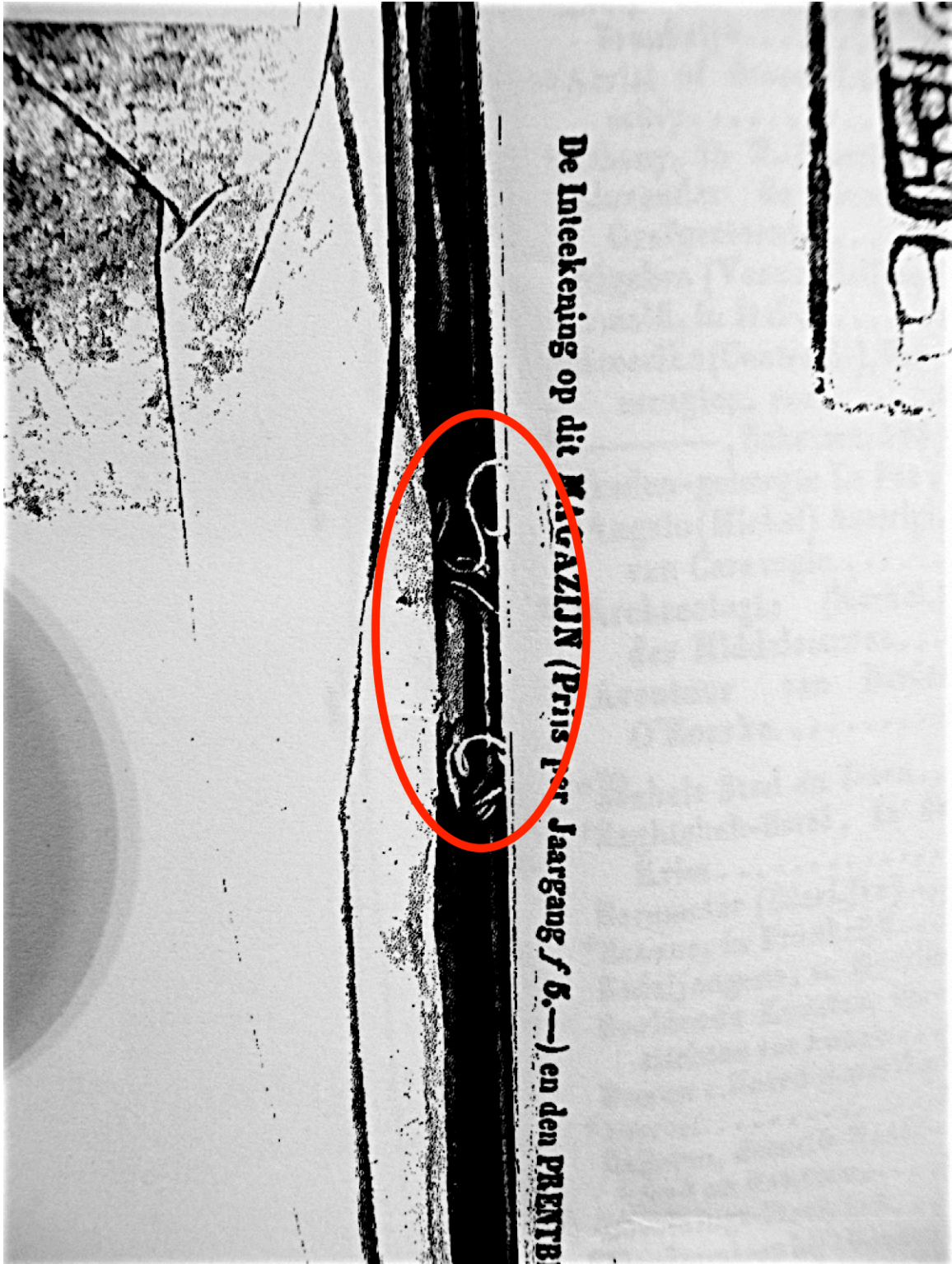
In particular, what had been destroyed was its binding.

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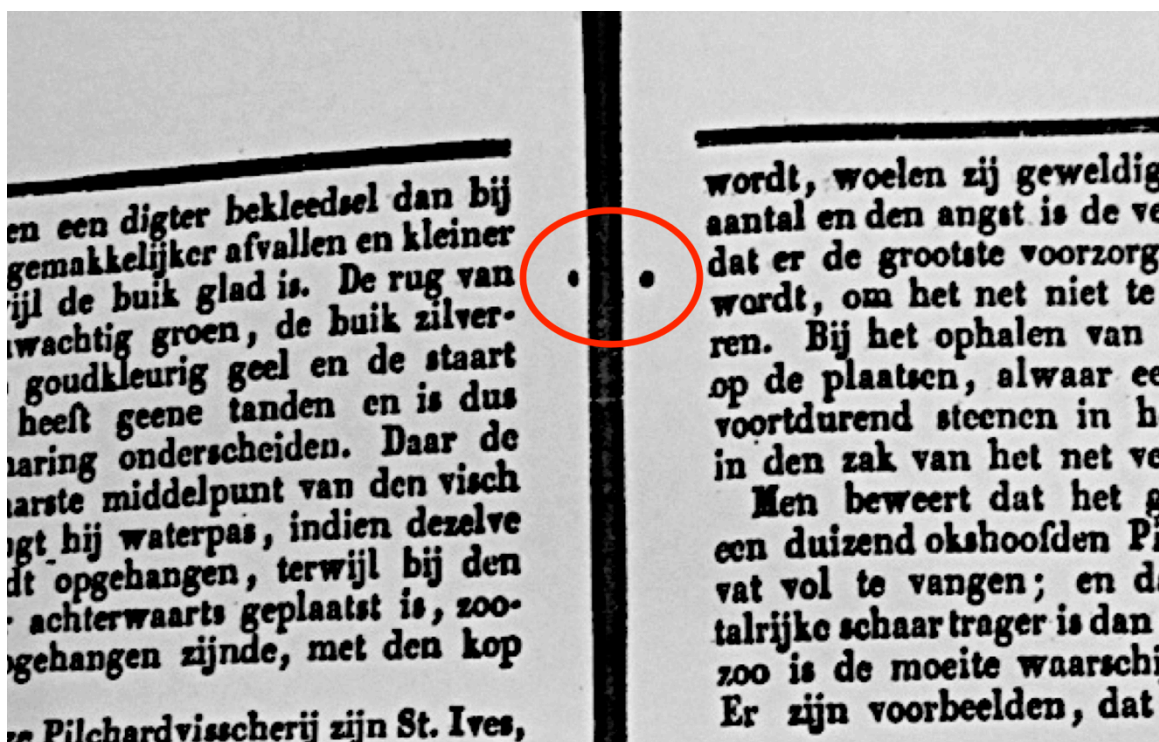
<sup>67</sup> This is a slight generalization. We know that the 1834-46 run was purchased in 1856, because they bear a seal that reads *hinoe no tatsu* 丙辰, indicating the year. As for the latter run, from 1847-55, we can only surmise they were imported later, but before 1860, since they appear in Mitsukuri Shūhei's 箕作秋坪 manuscript catalog of books at the Institute, customarily dated to 1860. See R029.8 B66 Bansho shirabesho shoseki mokuroku utushi 蕃書調所書籍目録写, National Diet Library, Japan.



**1.3 Destroyed binding in Japanese copy of *Nederlandsch Magazijn*:** From the 1844 volume owned by the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. AA00310400, *Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden*, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.



**1.4 Loose binding in Japanese copy of *Nederlandsch Magazijn*:** From the 1843 volume owned by the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. AA00310400, *Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden*, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.



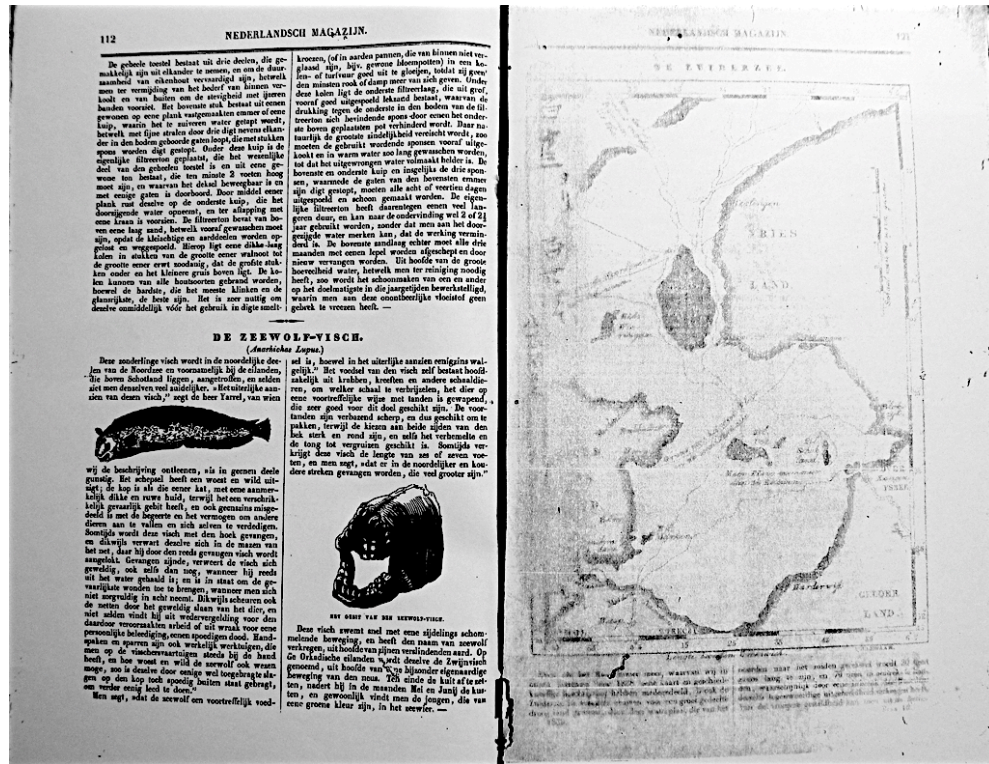
1.5 Binding holes in Japanese copy of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*: From the 1836 volume owned by the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. AA00310400, *Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden*, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.

As is visible in the preceding pictures, the binding string itself had either come loose, or else was completely undone, in most of the Japanese-owned volumes. Although one might suspect at first that this damage occurred during later years through neglect and poor conservation practices, a glance through these volumes proves otherwise. We find, for example, in the 1836 volume, an instance where a smaller sheet of thin, semi-translucent Japanese paper, or *washi*, has been sandwiched between page 112 and page 121, with a note attached that reads “From 113 to 120, 8 pages missing.”<sup>68</sup> Alternatively, at the front of the 1845 volume, on the inner flyleaf, there appear three separate tallies of the various missing pages – fourteen leaves, or 28 pages, in all.<sup>69</sup>

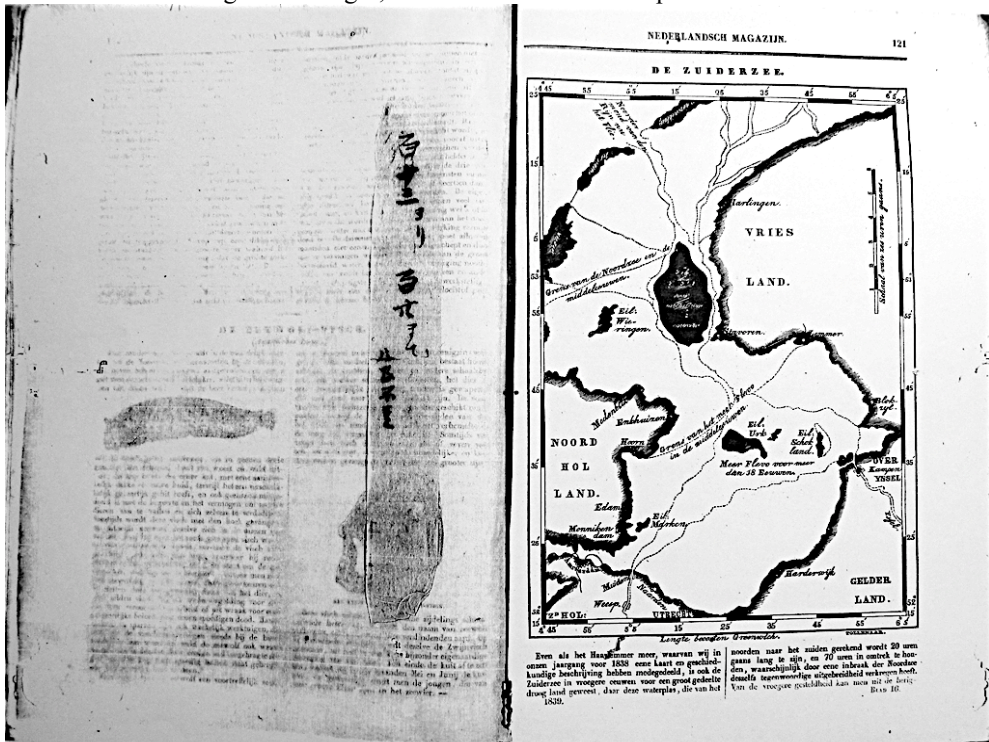
<sup>68</sup> 「百十三ヨリ百廿まで八枚不足」. AA00310400, *Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden* (1836), Tokyo National Museum.

<sup>69</sup> AA00310400, *Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden* (1845), Tokyo National Museum, Japan.

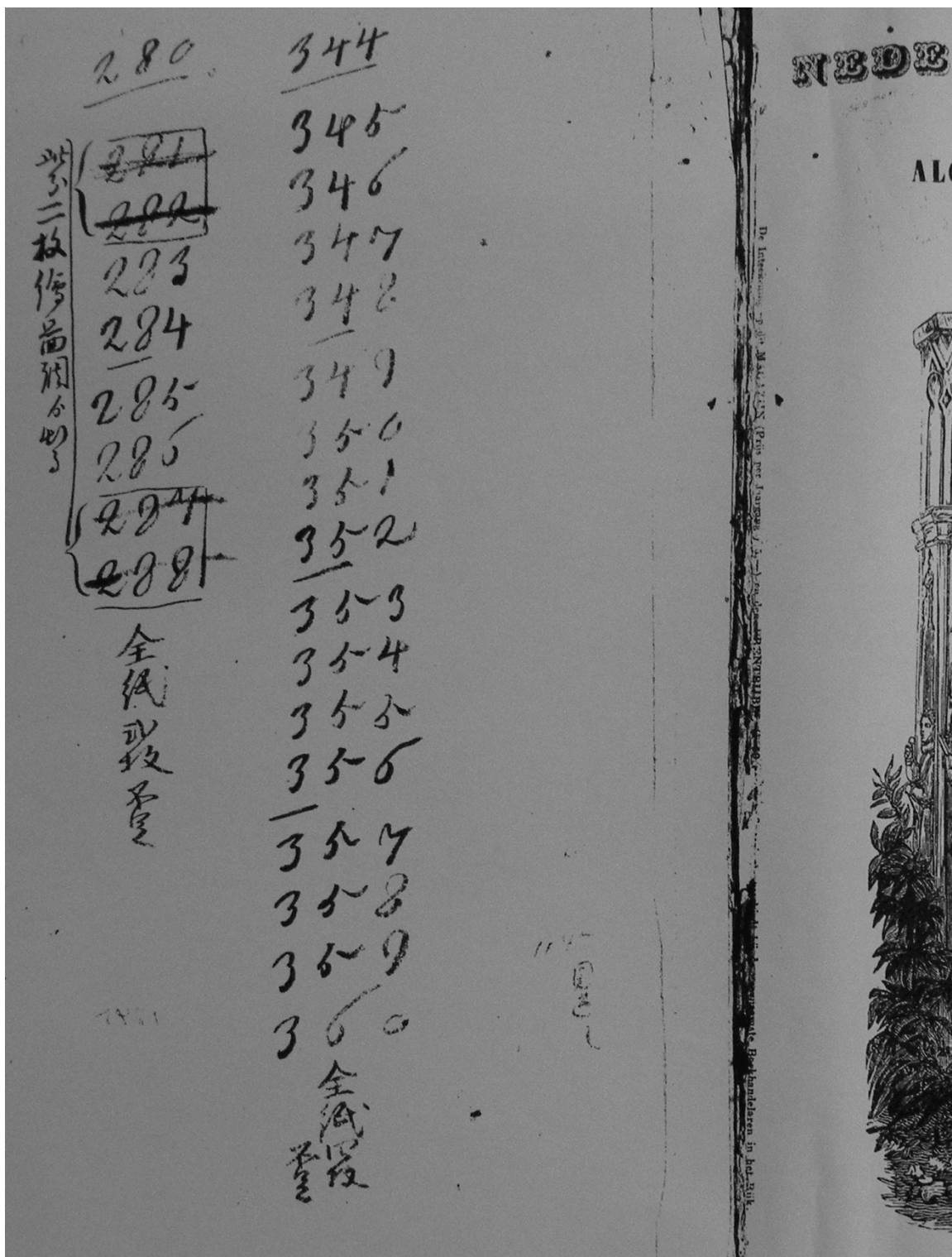




Page 112 at right, and a smaller washi leaf placed at left.



1.6 Holders for missing pages: From the 1836 volume of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* owned by the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. The back of the same washi, at right, with a strip pasted on the back indicating the missing pages, and page 121 at left. AA00310400, *Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden*, Tokyo National Museum, Japan



**1.7 Tally for missing pages:** Found on the back of the front flyleaf of the 1845 volume of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* owned by the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. AA00310400, *Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden*, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.

The bibliographer will notice a key consistency in these missing pages. The *Nederlandsch Magazijn* was printed as a half-sheet octavo, each single issue consisting of eight leaves. The tallies of missing pages – 113 to 120, or 281-88 – thus coincide with gatherings of single issues, of which the outer leaves and inner leaves would have been, respectively, conjugal. This, in fact, helps explain why in the image above, pages 281, 282, 287, and 288 are crossed out, accompanied by the note “These two parts were cut out by the Department of Illustrations.”<sup>70</sup> As the outer leaves of the gathering, these pages would all have been conjugal. To take out page 281 without physically ripping leaves apart would have necessarily entailed also taking out pages 282, 287, and 288.

More broadly, what this means, in layperson’s terms, is that the scholars at the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books had begun handling their annual compilations of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* not as single and complete wholes, but instead as collections of separate leaves, each of which could be chosen, singled-out, and taken away as necessary. These practices were influenced, or at least enabled, by the fact that the volumes had suffered such material damage as to become relatively unbound. Later on, in the 1856 annual compilation, we find even greater evidence of this practice. There, sandwiched between missing pages, remain what appear to have been loan slips, each marked with the range of pages taken, and the name of the scholar who borrowed those pages.

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<sup>70</sup> 「此分二枚絵図調方切る」 AA00310400, *Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden* (1845), Tokyo National Museum, Japan.





1.8 Loan slips: sandwiched in the 1856 volume of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* owned by the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. In order, “No. 2 Sugita, borrowing pp. 17-32 of the *Magazijn*”; “No. 8 Yamanouchi borrowing pp. 97-112”; “No. 11 Ki Kuninori borrowing pp. 145-60.” AA11894642, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Magazijn: ter verspreiding van algemeene en nuttige kundigheden*, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.



Let me be clear about the implications. We are, in our lives, accustomed to borrowing books by taking a bound volume off the shelf. And these books, by virtue of being bound, suggest to us a sort of unity, a self-standing coherency sandwiched between thick covers, sanctified by cloth or leather and a firm lettered spine. The stakes here could be phrased in terms of the following analogy: binding is to a book, as discursive logic is to a text. Whether in the form of a narrative or an analytical argument, discursive logic is the structure that holds together a text, weaving through it a thread of continuity. Binding – string through pages and covers at each end – is the structure that holds together a book. Since books are the material supports for texts – the tangible form that instantiates them, mobilizes them – then when the binding of a book falls apart, so too does the discursive logic of a text, scattering it into so many disordered leaves. This is what happened to the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* as it came to Japan: the binding fell apart, and thus the book fell apart. As string unraveled, arguments came undone. And in response, an alternative set of practices and understandings arose wherein the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* did not appear as a sequential whole, but rather as a set of so many disparate slips of paper to be selected and recombined at will.

We see this practice of reading at work in Koga Kin'ichirō's understanding of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*. Its effect may already be discerned from a glance at the early entries of his reading diary. These entries, in the order in which Koga read them, include the following: the Koh-i-noor diamond, phrenology, the telescope, the Caucasus mountains, a Danish astronomical observatory, the Low Countries polymath Simon

Stevin, the Battle of Waterloo, production processes for purple dye, and an urban geography of Naples.<sup>71</sup>

At first, this scattered miscellany may seem to simply reflect the miscellaneous nature of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*'s contents. Penny magazines had always mixed and matched to begin with, recycling and redistributing existing content in shortened snippets. Amidst this miscellany, however, the practice of serializing longer works across issues meant that there was also a distinctly periodic rhythm to these periodicals. Many articles built and expanded on one another from issue to issue. The importance of these entries, therefore, is not that they offer a glimpse of the topical miscellany to Koga's reading. Rather, the crucial point is that the rhythm of the serialized article had, in Koga's reading practice, been ruptured.

This rupture becomes more evident once we trace each of Koga's these entries back to their original appearance in the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*. The Koh-i-noor diamond article appears on page 312 of the 1851 compilation; the phrenology article on pages 158-59 of the 1842 compilation; the telescope on page 256 of 1850; the Caucasus mountains on p. 391 of 1856 – and so on, and so on.<sup>72</sup> Koga's reading was miscellaneous, to be sure. But more importantly, it was highly discontinuous, jumping from volume to volume, and even within volumes, between seemingly random locations. The consequence of this

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<sup>71</sup> Koga Kin'ichirō, *Donichi kangen* 度日閑言 (ca. 1865-67), vol. 1, 827-58, Rare Books and Old Materials Reading Room, NDL. The entry titles, in order: 光山, 厚頭, 高下業, シルカッシー国, 親洽, 帆車, 名馬, 各色, 童子幹事. Note that the titles that Koga assigned to his diary entries in many cases do not correspond with the title of the article in the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*. Rather, Koga's titles reflect the points of interest that he found in these articles – a curious fact or anecdote, perhaps, or in some instances, a broader moral lesson, as we shall see below.

<sup>72</sup> The corresponding Dutch titles are as follows: "Kohinoor of berg van licht," "Schedel en hersenen van den Mensch," "Tycho Brahe," "Circassiërs," "Rundetaarn Observatorium," "Simon Stevin," "Het paard van Wellington," "Koninklijke kleuren," "Napels."

discontinuity was that articles belonging to the same series were rarely ever read as such, neither in sequence nor as a connected whole. Koga's reading disrupted serialization.

We are all, to some extent, guilty of discontinuous reading. Even as scholars, we may skim through monographs by looking only at their introductions and conclusions, flitting quickly through middle sections as certain words catch our eye. We do so, however, with a sense of guilt, well aware of an implicit norm that we should, in the best of worlds, read as much as possible. This normative consciousness was absent in Koga's reading. Describing his approach in a prefatory remark to his reading notes, he states openly that he "chose a few passages from out the whole, picking up one out of thousands." "Let there be no mockery," he continues, "that in selecting one, I have let ten thousand slip by."<sup>73</sup> Discontinuity was itself, for Koga, the norm.

The manner in which discontinuity became a norm of reading for Koga is what I call here the "hermeneutics of loss." For it was not pure whim alone that drove Koga to read discontinuously. Rather, discontinuity was already encouraged by the material condition in which he found the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*. Over its two decades of circulation, from Amsterdam, through Indonesia, to Japan, the *Magazijn* had been transformed from serial issues, into a collection of unbound or loosely bound leaves, missing pages and falling part. The very physical state of the *Magazijn* therefore lent itself to a haphazard approach of picking and choosing separate pages from assorted volumes. Bearing this transformation in mind, we might return to one of our original questions at the start of the chapter. What did Koga Kin'ichirō read when he set off to understand the "prosperity of Western arts and sciences"? He read, on the one hand, the

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<sup>73</sup> 「全文中提数節・・・抜什一于千百也勿嘲挂一漏万」. Koga Kin'ichirō, *Donichi kangen* 度日閑言 (ca. 1865-67), vol. 1, 序, 827-58, Rare Books and Old Materials Reading Room, NDL.

*Nederlandsch Magazijn*. Yet on the other hand, he also read something else. He read a unique physical object – a different artifact – that had been transformed through the various losses incurred over a lifetime of circulation.

Loss, then, was the basic material precondition of Koga's reading – a condition that in turn stimulated practices of fragmentation and discontinuity. And its consequences were multiple. Some may, for instance, strike us as quaint and humorous. In 1853, a three-part series on the life of Carl Linnæus ran in the pages of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*.<sup>74</sup> Each part dealt with a stage in Linnæus growth, beginning with childhood, then adolescence, and finally adulthood. The series possessed its own narrative arc as a tale of late-blooming genius. Linnæus, in his youth, was alleged to be a poor study, failing at Hebrew, Greek, and Theology, though excelling at Latin. In place of attending school, Linnæus wandered through forests and fields, collecting plants and catching butterflies.

As the second and third articles show, Linnæus' childhood truancy was a formative stage for his later emergence as one of the most famed naturalists of the eighteenth century. What seemed at the time to be undisciplined disobedience was revealed to be single-minded passion. Koga, however, did not appreciate this point. He did not appreciate it, for he seems never to have read the second and third articles in the series, recording in his notes only the first – the article on childhood. Koga thus wrote, in his diary, that “[Linnaeus] was a fool” (愚鈍).<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> “De jonge Linnæus,” in *Nederlandsch Magazijn* (1853), pp. 45-46, p. 50, p. 59.

<sup>75</sup> Koga, *Donichi kangen*, vol. 1, リンアウス幼時, 827-58, Rare Books and Old Materials Reading Room, NDL.

We may chuckle at this simple misunderstanding. But if we look further, we find that precisely these sorts of misunderstandings, produced by the physical disruption of the *Magazijn*'s serial logic – by the damage the *Magazijn* suffered as a material artifact – were at times capable of producing a genuine critical knowledge. That is to say, the copies of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* that Koga encountered, with their binding destroyed and their pages loose and missing, opened up space for alternative interpretations that would have been occluded had he read serial articles in their integral sequence. Loss gave rise to a different hermeneutics. Serial misunderstanding gave rise to new understandings.

It is with an example of how this serial (mis)understanding produces critical knowledge that I close my analysis of Koga's reading. In December of 1835, the British *Penny Magazine* published a three-part series of articles on the Bedouins; in 1838, this series was reprised in the pages of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*.<sup>76</sup> The goal of this series was to stress how Bedouins, in their nomadic barbarism, were incapable of unifying together in a form of solidarity compatible with the ideal of the modern nation-state.

The first article began by laying out the contrast between civilization and barbarism, distinguishing between the two on the basis of sedentary versus nomadic lifestyles. The second article then described Bedouin raids on British caravans passing through their lands. The third article, essential for an interpretation of the whole series, proceeded to chastise the Bedouins for using these very same techniques of raiding upon their fellow Bedouins in other camps. This form of predation on their own kind was taken

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<sup>76</sup> "The Bedouin Arabs," *Penny Magazine*, 12 Dec. 1835; "Camel Thieves," *Penny Magazine*, 19 Dec. 1835; "Bedouin Arabs," *Penny Magazine*, 26 Dec. 1835; "Bedoeïenen," *Nederlandsch Magazijn*, 3 March 1838; "Kameelroovers," *Nederlandsch Magazijn*, 10 March 1838; "Arabische Roovers in de woestijn," *Nederlandsch Magazijn*, 17 March 1838.

as conclusive and damning evidence that the Bedouins lacked true national consciousness.

“It is a mistake,” the article cautioned, “to consider the Arabian tribes as leagued together in war against all that is beyond the pale of their own barbarism.” Continuing:

They war, but are not leagued in war. There is no union among them, but utter desolation and the entire disruption of every national bond. There is no form of robbery or theft which a Bedouin considers disgraceful.<sup>77</sup>

The point would therefore seem unequivocal to all readers. But Koga read neither the first article on civilization and barbarism, nor the last article on Bedouin autopredation. Instead, he appears to have read only the second article, describing Bedouin raids on the British. In turn, the disruption of these articles’ serial logic provided room for Koga to create a strikingly different interpretation. Commenting on the article, Koga wrote,

Those who steal a ring are put to death, but those who steal the world become kings. Stealing a camel is like stealing a ring. Westerners complain, "The Bedouins take no shame in theft. How horrible! How disgraceful!" But who are the most shameless thieves in the world? Westerners. The thievery of Westerners extends to all the countries of the earth leaving not one inch of ground behind. They kill people and seize their lands. But though they steal others’ land, they do not consider themselves thieves. Instead, they prosecute with all their might the theft of a camel.... The Bedouins have cunning, and so today they still remain unconquered.<sup>78</sup>

Lacking the other articles to inform him of nomadism versus barbarism, of the Bedouins’ lack of solidarity and of their failure to cohere as a nation, Koga instead saw in the Bedouins a kind of heroism, a solidarity leagued against the imperialist West who would

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<sup>77</sup> “Bedouin Arabs,” *Penny Magazine*, 26 Dec. 1835.

<sup>78</sup> 「盜環者死盜天下者王盜駝環之類也西人言不恥盜何酷何覲然天下之不恥盜孰甚乎西人西人盜盡大地各邦不贖寸壤殺其人奪其地不以盜自居反倥促責一駝今ベドイン狡而殘」. Koga, *Donichi*, vol. 2, 駝盜.

otherwise rob them of their lands. In short, Koga saw the Bedouins as unified resisters, to be celebrated for their continued solidarity in opposition.

We who work on the non-West are prone to look for challenges to the West, for forms of “agency” that “subvert” or “resist” the dominant logics embedded in Western texts. But as the case of Koga suggests, what we call agency, subversion, or resistance may at times be prompted as an unexpected consequence of the physical transformations in books as material objects. These transformations encourage alternate practices of handling and reading, which in turn provide room for alternate acts of interpretation. The destruction of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* in its physical integrity, and the emergence of a kind of reading that both drew on and exacerbated this destruction, treating the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* as loose leaves, freed Koga to devise views not only unintended by, but in direct contradiction to, the original aims of the text. By the time Western knowledge reached Koga in the form of a *Nederlandsch Magazijn* in tatters, it had already metamorphosed into something entirely new.

### **Cheap Print or Good Readers?**

There is a passage in the *Zhuangzi* that has come to act as a warning to those who would rush ahead into the future.<sup>79</sup> In its original form, Ju Que eagerly demands from Zhang Wuzi an interpretation of a Confucian saying, only to find himself upbraided for his impatience. “You’re too hasty,” Zhang Wuzi scolds, “You see an egg and demand a crowing cock.” The sage, rather than grasping immediately for a final answer, for instantaneous understanding, “merges himself with things, leaves the confusion and

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<sup>79</sup> See Chapter 2 (“Discussion on Making All Things Equal” 齊物論), section 12, of the *Zhuangzi*, in *Zhuangzi: Basic Writings*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 15-16.

muddle as it is.” Zhang Wuzi’s words have been passed down in tradition in the proverbial form “to ask for a chicken upon seeing an egg.”<sup>80</sup> It was this very proverb that sprang to mind when, in the course of his readings, Koga stumbled on a brief article concerning mechanical printing.<sup>81</sup>

An entry of considerable length for the periodical the article spanned two pages, and had been written in praise of the tremendous new powers of mechanization. Focusing especially upon the impact of the rolling press in the production of British newspapers, the article boasted of the tens of thousands of readers that could now be reached in a day’s work. Koga recorded these facts, figures, and names with dutiful diligence. Yet his final response was mixed. Borrowing from the *Zhuangzhi*, Koga cautioned against rushing ahead before the conditions were ripe, anticipating a future that was far from yet arriving.

“When making a product,” Koga began, “one must first consider its sales.” New printing technology allowed for the cheap proliferation of print, but who in Japan was to be its consumer? “Not everyone can read,” Koga continued, and of the literate, “many are not active readers.” True enough, Westerners might produce several books in the time it took a Japanese printer to make just one. But “even if we were to print tens of thousands of books, there would be no one to seek all of them.” Japan should therefore not worry

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<sup>80</sup> 「見卵求鶏」

<sup>81</sup> For the original English, see “The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine, No. 4,” *Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine* (Dec. 1833): pp. 505-12. For the redacted Dutch version, see *Nederlandsch Magazijn* (1856): pp. 247-48.



itself with the productive capacity of cheaper and more efficient industrial printing. The immediate task at hand instead was the “production of readers.”<sup>82</sup>

How did Koga himself fare as a reader? His interpretations, as we have seen, diverged wildly from what the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* would have wished of its readers. Yet they diverged, in many cases, because Koga was not really reading the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* at all. What he read was a transformed object – a different book, and thus a different text. However errant it may seem to us, Koga’s reading was, I argue, exactly faithful to the conditions of knowledge circulation through which the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* found its way to Japan.

Seen from this perspective, Koga’s example serves as an entryway into reconceptualizing the problem of Western knowledge’s globalization. The penny magazines examined here represented one genre on the broader spectrum of cheap pedagogical print, whose ideal goal was to diffuse knowledge universally, even to the poor and poorly educated. Its conception, unsurprisingly, complements a traditional literature on modernity that has come to be labeled, fittingly, as “diffusionist.”<sup>83</sup> According to this literature, modern knowledge originated in the West, sprouted wings, and conquered the world.

This faith in diffusion finds its antagonist in a robust concept of “circulation.” Circulation, as I have attempted to portray it, transforms those physical artifacts – books – that carry knowledge, in the process engendering new practices of reading, and thus

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<sup>82</sup> 「見卯氏云造貨須預考其銷售・・・我邦文字非每人得読人亦不事読書数万部叠出決無願人、故印書速机非我邦攸急以造読書人物為急」. Koga, *Donichi*, vol. 3, 印書.

<sup>83</sup> The locus classicus for diffusionism is George Basalla, “The Spread of Western Science: A Three-Stage Model Describes the Introduction of Modern Science into Any Non-European Nation,” *Science* 156, no. 3775 (1967): pp. 611-22.

new and often radically divergent kinds of knowledge. At the very moment that Western knowledge begins to circulate, it ceases to be “Western knowledge” as such; it renounces its own integrity to the vagaries of travel. Similarly, that which may seem a peculiarly “Japanese” interpretation of “Western knowledge” is itself, also, not simply “Japanese,” but a reading conditioned by the long sequence of transformative circulation.

Cheap pedagogical print, with its patchwork qualities and penchant for recycling, proved extremely susceptible to this transformative circulation. We will see this thematic played out across successive chapters, culminating in Chapter 5, where the creation of a new kind of “Western knowledge” in Japan during the 1880s would entail erasing the reading practices that had been fostered by the global circulation of cheap pedagogical print. For now, however, it may be better to let Koga’s own words speak on his behalf. In the seventh volume of his reading diary, Koga mentioned showing some of his notes to a friend. The friend replied that Koga seemed a bit too harsh in many of his comments about the West. Koga, in response, insisted that the West for him was no target for any deliberate resistance, subversion, or denigration. “I had no intention to ridicule,” Koga demurred, “but just wrote as I read.”<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> 「余曰否吾豈有志於罵只繙卷而到書」. Koga, *Donichi*, vol. 7, 跋.

**CHAPTER II**  
**Circulating Knowledge and the *Circle of Knowledge*:  
Trash, Treasure, and the Making of a Global Textbook**

...Again, one-man  
Could not subdue by force the wills of many  
And compel them to learn the names of things.  
It is no easy labour to convince  
Deaf men, and teach them what they ought to do;  
Since not for long would they endure his voice,  
Nor suffer unintelligible sounds  
Fruitlessly to be dinned into their ears.  
~ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, V:1050-55<sup>1</sup>

Matthew Arnold had a word for them: “trash.” Reporting to Parliament as H.M. Inspector of Schools in early 1864, Arnold denounced the textbooks of his era, imploring educators to dedicate their energies toward “improving the quality of school reading books.” For too long had these manuals dwelled in an unproductive “dryness and pedantry...containing nothing...for reaching the end which reading books were meant to reach,” and thereby contributing to the overall “shortcomings in taste and culture” that plagued English education. One work above all shouldered the brunt of Arnold’s ire: *The Circle of Knowledge*, an elementary reader by Charles Baker (1803-74) first published in 1847.<sup>2</sup> Citing from the *Circle*’s pages, Arnold enumerated a series of sentences deemed especially odious: “The crocodile is viviparous”; “Quicksilver, antimony, calamine, zinc, &c. are metals”; “The corners of the door are angles.”<sup>3</sup> “The right way of teaching a little boy to read,” Arnold fumed, “is not by setting him to read such sentences.” Concluding

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<sup>1</sup> Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, trans. R.C. Trevelyan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937).

<sup>2</sup> There is slight lack of clarity on the specific publication date. Baker’s *Circle* appeared in bookseller’s catalogues for the first time only in 1848, under the title *The Child’s Circle of Knowledge*, but Baker himself claims the first edition was really published in 1847. See Charles Baker, “Common Things.” *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Ashburton* (London: Varty and Owen, 1854), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> These sentences first make their appearance in Arnold’s diary for the year 1863, indicating that he likely came across Baker’s textbook for the first time in the late winter of that year. William Bell Guthrie, “Matthew Arnold’s Diaries, the unpublished items: a transcription and commentary” (Ph.D. Thesis. University of Virginia, 1957), p. 422.

his critique of Baker's *Circle*, Arnold made his message clear. If the nation's schools were to have a future, then textbook compilers must first "reject all such trash as above."<sup>4</sup>

Three years later, and on the other side of the world, the Japanese scholar Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三 (1832-70) was enthused. Skilled in Dutch, in which he was known to write poetry, editor of a French-Japanese dictionary, and translator of English treatises on topics as diverse as arithmetic, photography, and chess, Yanagawa had recently been nominated headmaster of the shogunate's academy for the study of the Western knowledge. That same autumn, as befitting his new status, Yanagawa published a guidebook for those seeking to emulate his scholarly ascent. Such an aspiration, Yanagawa noted, had been radically simplified of late. A growing abundance of books introducing Western languages, sciences, and arts – imported, reprinted, and occasionally translated – were now "available for purchase everywhere," rendering "a great blessing upon all the people" and "a great benefit for the country's prosperity and civilization." "Even in the remotest of lands and the most isolated of villages," Yanagawa declared, "self-study is no longer difficult." And, for those who would pursue such self-study "without the aid of teachers and friends," Yanagawa offered the following advice: "Among the books that one should read...[is] *The Circle of Knowledge*."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Matthew Arnold, "General Report for the Year 1863," in *Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852-1882*, ed. Sir Francis Sandford (London: Macmillan, 1889), pp. 97-98; on Arnold's complaints as inspector, see Mary E. Black, "Matthew Arnold as School Inspector: A Revaluation," *Pacific Coast Philology* 22, no. 1/2 (Nov., 1987): pp. 15-21; for the best general look at Arnold explicitly as a theorist of education, see G.H. Bantock, *Studies in the History of Educational Theory*, vol. 2 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984), pp. . It is evident that Arnold read through Baker's work in some detail, as a list of nine sentences from the *Circle of Knowledge* appears in the back of Arnold's 1863 journal. See William Bell Guthrie, "Matthew Arnold's Diaries," p. 422.

<sup>5</sup> Yanagawa Shunsan, *Yōgaku shishin. Eigaku-bu* (Edo: 1867), 19a-b. 「其読ムベキ書ハ・・・地学初歩、智環啓蒙・・・等。皆刻本アリテ、何方ニテモ購求シ得ベシ、又師友無クシテ独学ヲナサント欲セバ・・・今ハ遠国僻邑ニテモ独学ヲナスニ難カラズ、是レ 国家昇平文明ノ余沢ニシテ、士民ノ大幸ナリ。」

We may pause to savor the irony. One man's trash is another man's treasure. Only in this instance, so glib an aphorism serves to conceal rather than to instruct. For the puzzle of Charles Baker's *Circle of Knowledge* exceeds the dimensions of individual valuations – of one man's idiosyncrasies held against another man's eccentricities. Born in the classrooms of rural Yorkshire, the *Circle* found its way into the hands of Bengali schoolchildren less than a decade after initial publication. Later, under the Raj, it would become a staple of Punjab district schools.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, missionaries in Hong Kong had been reprinting the *Circle* for their own purposes since 1856, their efforts inadvertently giving rise to an expansive catalogue of pirated editions in Canton, Shanghai, and Macau. It was these Chinese editions, authorized and unauthorized, that made their way to Nagasaki and Yokohama, triggering a Japanese renaissance of the *Circle* that lasted through the 1880s. Arnold and Yanagawa, London and Edo, were merely two points in this transnational constellation.<sup>7</sup> The ironic contrast between their views therefore cannot be understood in isolation, but must be situated within a process wherein circulation itself – the very act of traversing new terrains and inhabiting new mediums of transmission – transformed the meaning and function of a denigrated genre: the textbook.<sup>8</sup>

This chapter traces the history of Baker's *Circle*'s in order to better illuminate how circulation represented a curious form of alchemy, transfiguring an unremarkable text, and producing treasure out of trash not only for individuals, but for whole regions

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<sup>6</sup> *The Bookseller*, 1 August 1868, p. 573.

<sup>7</sup> Advertisements boasted of half a million copies sold, primarily overseas. See *The Publishers' Circular and General Record of British and Foreign Literature*, Vol. XXXVIII (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1875), p. 571.

<sup>8</sup> For one of the most productive recent studies linking meaning and movement, see Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, eds., *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

and cultures. Beginning with Charles Baker's educational experiments in Yorkshire, I follow the *Circle* into South Asia, through the hands of the London Missionary Society's press at Hong Kong, and finally into Japan. At its broadest level, then, my goal is to refocus our scholarly attention on those moments when seemingly separate print economies align for reasons fortuitous and unforeseen. It is, I argue, precisely as they slip out of the hands of those for whom they were intended, and into the hands of those for whom they were not, that books begin to reveal their latent possibilities. Following books beyond the limit of their intended circulation must therefore become an essential aspect of how we frame questions of textual meaning in intellectual history – in particular, here, the question of what and how a textbook really teaches its readers.

At the more specific level, however, I stress this protracted series of global connections through China and Japan for yet another end: to urge us to look beyond paradigms of nineteenth-century globality that tacitly conflate the boundaries of the “global” with those of “empire.”<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the growing number of studies which today market themselves as “global book histories” overwhelmingly abide by this framework, mapping transnational print circulation onto the twin explicantia of colonial education and Protestant evangelization.<sup>10</sup> Little surprise is it then that textbooks, given their didactic function, have served as symbols of the imperial book, portrayed in our literature

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<sup>9</sup> In exploring ways to undo the conflation of the “global” and “translational” with empire, I follow Antoinette Burton. See Antoinette Burton, “Getting outside the global: re-positioning British imperialism in world history,” in *Race, Nation and Empire: Making Histories, 1750 to the Present*, ed. Catherine Hall and Keith McClelland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 199-216.

<sup>10</sup> See, Antoinette Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr, eds., “Introduction. The Spine of Empire? Books and the Making of an Imperial Commons.” For leading work on book history, see: Rimi B. Chatterjee, *Empires of the Mind: A History of the Oxford University Press in India under the Raj* (New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Ulrike Stark, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2008), pp. 228-40; Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836-1916* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 38-45, pp. 56-57, and pp. 111-39; Priya Joshi, *In Another Country* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 93-138.

as technologies of colonialist ideology, and as instruments for “the spread of European knowledge among the natives.”<sup>11</sup>

Such a framework, I maintain, has impeded deeper inquiry over the dynamism of the textbook as a vector of knowledge. While parasitic upon the infrastructure of empire, textbooks migrated and transformed in ways that cannot find adequate account within a vocabulary of empire alone. This fact becomes markedly evident when we follow textbooks on their routes of circulation into China and Japan. True enough: colonial education and evangelization did play a role in the circulation of the *Circle*, with publishers bragging of its popularity “in many schools in India, the West Indies, and other Colonies.”<sup>12</sup> Yet whether defined as “hypo-colonies,” “hypercolonies,” or as “crypto-colonies,” China and Japan flaunted the logic of the “imperial” textbook.<sup>13</sup> We shall see, for example, how changes to the *Circle* before and after its arrival in Japan emerged just as much from local technological and economic considerations for the reprinting of books, as they did from any overt pressures from Western imperialism. We shall see, too, how the radically different uses to which Japanese readers put the *Circle* were the product of accumulated dislocations and disembeddings in its pedagogic function, rather than any psychological resistances Western encroachment. Emphasizing

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<sup>11</sup> [Church Missionary Society]. *Occasional Papers on India. No. V. Despatches by Sir John Lawrence, G.C.B., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, on Christianity in India* (London: Church Missionary House, 1859), p. 4; “Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council (no. 49, dated 19 July 1854),” in J.A. Richey, ed., *Bureau of Education, India. Selections from Educational Records. Part II 1840-1859* (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1922), pp. 364-93.

<sup>12</sup> *The Publishers' Circular and General Record of British and Foreign Literature, Vol. XXXVIII* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1875), p. 571.

<sup>13</sup> On the historical usage of “hypo-colony” and the coinage of “hypercolony,” see Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 10-15. On “crypto-colony,” see Michael Herzfeld, “The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (2002): pp. 899-926.

these geographies, never fully coterminous with empire, therefore opens up space to move aside from aged rubrics of domination and resistance, of power and its subversion. It allows us to envision textual difference as an unintended – and often ironic – consequence of the way in which books change their form and function in response to the pressures of circulation.

### **The Deafness of the Textbook**

What makes a good textbook? In reply, our contemporary science of education has prepared a standard litany of answers: clarity, simplicity, organization. In reply, Charles Baker suggested a criterion far less traditional. Though he authored more than thirty textbooks over the span of forty odd years, Baker's principal profession placed him at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, where he served as headmaster from 1828 until his death.<sup>14</sup> And it was from this experience that he came to develop an alternative view textbook design. "Books written purposely for the deaf," wrote Baker in 1836, "would be the best elementary works, if well done, to put in the hands of all children."<sup>15</sup>

A certain figure of deafness has long conditioned our understanding of how books educate. Aulus Gellius, and Erasmus after him, articulated it most strikingly in the metaphor of *muti magistri*, or "silent teachers," to whom they contrasted the *viva vox* of the master.<sup>16</sup> But in claiming deaf textbooks as the best for all children, Baker had called

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<sup>14</sup> For a complete bibliography of Baker's works, see "Biographical Sketch of the Late Charles Baker, Ph.D.," *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 20, no. 4 (Oct., 1875): pp. 213-15.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Baker, "Account of the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Quarterly Journal of Education* XIV (1836), reprinted in Charles Baker, *Contributions to Publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Central Society of Education* (Yorkshire: privately re-printed, 1842), p. 33.

<sup>16</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XIV.ii.1, in *Noctes Atticae. English and Latin*, vol. 3, tr. J.C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 21; see also Erasmus, *Adages*, I.ii.17-18 / LB II 77B.



forth a silence far deeper. Unable to hear, and typically unable to speak, why should the deaf and dumb act as a paradigm for all audiences? To understand Baker's *Circle*, we must first understand this: why a unique kind of "silence" was necessary for textbooks to truly teach.

The extension of deaf textbooks to all readers in general had long occupied Charles Baker's mind.<sup>17</sup> In the Preface to *A Teacher's Lessons on Scripture Characters*, dated December 1832, stressed that though "the following little work was written for the instruction of deaf and dumb children," he nevertheless "recommend[ed] it to general circulation."<sup>18</sup> This recommendation, it seems, was little heeded. For not two months later, in the Preface to his *First Lessons on Religion*, Baker found it necessary to repeat the point. "The Author," he wrote, "thinks it right to correct an idea which is abroad with respect to his little book...namely, that it is intended *only* for deaf and dumb children. This idea is quite erroneous, as it is the Author's desire to see the principles on which the deaf and dumb are taught, carried into the education of *young children of all classes*."<sup>19</sup>

According to Baker's own account, these initial works proved financially unfruitful, forcing him to abandon his work for several years.<sup>20</sup> The catalyst for his return to textbook compilation came in 1838, with the purchase of an in-house press for the

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For more on the debate between orality and textuality in education, see Françoise Waquet, *Parler comme un livre. L'oralité et le savoir, XVIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003).

<sup>17</sup> Baker earlier lamented to the public that "no greater impediment to the progress of the deaf and dumb in useful knowledge, than the want of a variety of books suited to the different periods of their education." See Charles Baker, "Account of the Yorkshire Institution," p. 33

<sup>18</sup> Preface, *A Teacher's Lessons on Scripture Characters* (London, Birmingham, Derby, and Doncaster: Longman and Co.; Seeleys; Nisbet; Houlstons; Hammond; Mozleys; Brooke and Co.; Charles White, 1833), p. [i].

<sup>19</sup> Charles Baker, Preface, *A Teacher's First Lessons on Religion* (Doncaster: Brooke & Co., 1833), n.p.

<sup>20</sup> *Historical and Financial Statement of Forty Years' Work at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb* (Doncaster: Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1869).

Yorkshire Institution. While meant primarily as a means of vocational training for students, the availability of an in-house press enabled Baker to print small runs of works to test in his classrooms, “ascertain[ing] their practical working in comparison with other schoolbooks.”<sup>21</sup> Non-commercial printing could thus serve as a laboratory for Baker’s educational experiments, until he perfected a formula for the market at large.

By 1840, Baker had announced the successful printing of a geography primer, and alerted supporters that he and his assistant at the Yorkshire Institution were hard at work on a “series of lessons on grammar and language.”<sup>22</sup> A year later, in February of 1841, Baker delivered upon his promise, completing an initial version of a work which, he boasted, would “render simple to ordinary observers...the art of teaching the deaf and dumb to read and write language.”<sup>23</sup> Positive responses encouraged Baker to solicit donations for an expanded edition, to be accompanied by a complementary reading book. Two volumes resulted: the *Series of Graduated Lessons for the Instruction of the Deaf and the Dumb*, and *General Reading Book for the Deaf and Dumb*. It was these two books that served as the basis for the *Circle of Knowledge*.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Obituary, *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 20, no. 4 (Oct., 1875): p. 208. Baker also praised the “great pecuniary saving” brought about by pupils taking on printing jobs for school needs. Charles Baker, “Account of the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb,” *Quarterly Journal of Education* no. 15 (1834), in Charles Baker, *Contributions to Publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Central Society of Education* (Yorkshire: privately re-printed, 1842), p. 48. The Annual Reports also make frequent mention of the beneficial use of student labor. See *Historical and Financial Statement of Forty Years’ Work at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb* (Doncaster: Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1869), p. 8. The first press, paid for from out of Baker’s own pockets, was a Royal Albion press. In mid-1839, after a successful campaign among subscribers, Baker was able to also add a Stanhope Press. See Anthony J. Boyce, *The History of the Yorkshire Residential School for the Deaf, 1829-1979* (Doncaster: Doncaster MBC, Museum and Arts Service, 1991), pp. 23-24.

<sup>22</sup> *Eleventh Report of the Committee of the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb* (1840), pp. 4-5. I have been unable to locate a copy of this “geography book.”

<sup>23</sup> *Twelfth Report of the Committee of the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb* (Doncaster: Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1841), p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> This point is not immediately obvious. The *Circle* was marketed broadly for “Domestic and Public Schools” and as well as “heads of families.” Its original title upon publication, however, had been

What principles in particular made these works “deaf”? And why should deaf works be the best for all readers? Since his first forays into textbooks, Baker had provided clues: “Children who can hear, are constantly learning to comprehend elliptical expressions, comparisons, personifications, and other forms of speech,” he wrote, “but it is well in *books*, intended for the infant mind, to avoid such difficulties, as they tend to embarrass the learner, and retard his progress.” Simplicity of language was therefore the first criterion. Reduced down to the lowest common denominator, a deaf textbook would by definition “necessarily be understood by children who have been in the constant habit of hearing.”<sup>25</sup>

But simplicity of language was linked to a larger ambition. This ambition drew inspiration from theories of a deaf sign language developed by two of Baker’s heroes: the deaf-mute pedagogues Charles-Michel de l’Épée (1712-89), and his successor, Roch-Ambroise Cucurron Sicard (1742-1822).<sup>26</sup> Drawing upon both Condillac and his own observations of his deaf students, de l’Épée had argued for the existence of a natural

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*Graduated Reading*. The juxtaposed elision of titles – *Series of Graduated Lessons* and *General Reading* – was no mere coincidence. A close examination of Baker’s deaf grammar and reader indicates that much of the *Circle*’s content was copied over from these two prior works. Specifically, the *Circle* mimicked the topical choices of the *Series*, and borrowed passages, moderately altered, from the *General Reading*. See *The Publishers’ Circular and General Record of Foreign Literature* X, no. 225 (1 Feb., 1847): p. 70; and compare Charles Baker and Duncan Anderson, *A Series of Graduated Lessons in Language and Grammar, for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb* (Doncaster: Printed by the Pupils of the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at the Institution Press, 1841), pp. 1-2; cf. Table of Contents for Charles Baker, *Graduated Reading; comprising a Circle of Knowledge in 200 Lessons* (London: Thomas Varty, 1847); or *General Reading Book for the Deaf and Dumb. Miscellaneous* (Doncaster: Printed by the Pupils of the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, [n.d.]), p. 28; cf. Baker, *Graduated Reading*, p. 3; or *General Reading Book*, pp. 57-58; cf. Baker, *Graduated Reading*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>25</sup> Baker, Preface, *A Teacher’s Lessons*, p. ii.

<sup>26</sup> Baker had written laudatory profiles of both figures for the *Penny Cyclopædia* and the *Gallery of Portraits*. See Charles Baker, “The Abbe de l’Épée” and “The Abbé Sicard,” in Charles Baker, *Contributions to Publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Central Society of Education* (Yorkshire: privately re-printed, 1842), pp. 375-92. More broadly, the thought of the Abbé de l’Épée and Abbé Sicard has received detailed treatment in English by Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford: SUP, 2003). See also Sophia Rosenfeld, “Sign Language as a Political Weapon: The Case of the French Revolution,” *Sign Language Studies* (Fall 2005): 17-37.

language of gestures among deaf-mutes. This, he referred to as a “language of natural signs” (*le langage des signes naturelles*). De l’Épée further hypothesized that such a primitive “language of natural signs” might be systematized into “methodical signs” (*signes méthodiques*), thereby forming an analytical language whose capacity would rival that of spoken vernaculars.<sup>27</sup>

Upon his death, the continuation of De l’Épée’s project fell to the Abbé Sicard, who, in Baker’s estimation, expanded de l’Épée’s lexicon “from material objects to metaphysical ideas.”<sup>28</sup> To do so, Sicard reduced de l’Épée’s signs into a set of radicals, and devised a series of analytical operations for combining these radicals into more complex expressions. The product, ultimately, was to be a deductive system of language that built from concrete things to abstract concepts. “Belief” (*croyance*), for instance, could be expressed in Sicard’s system through a combination of the following six radicals: eyes, mouth, heart, mind, the negative particle, and the affirmative “Yes.” With these five components, Sicard signed “belief” as an aggregate sequence of 1) “I do *not* see it with the *eyes*”; 2) “I say *yes* with the *mouth*”; 3) “I say *yes* with the *heart*”; 4) “I say *yes* with the *mind*.”<sup>29</sup>

The analytical clarity of Sicard’s sign language inspired educators of Baker’s generation to speculate that the English vernacular, too, could be introduced to students through the same rigorous method. At precisely the same time Baker was embarking upon his first textbook ventures, the renowned mathematician Augustus de Morgan (1806-71) was urging a project “to remedy the defect in ordinary education, by

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<sup>27</sup> See *Institution des sourds et muets par la voie des signes méthodiques* (Paris: Nyon l’ainé, 1776).

<sup>28</sup> Charles Baker, “Abbé Sicard,” pp. 387-92.

<sup>29</sup> See Augustus de Morgan, “On Some Methods Employed for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb,” *Quarterly Journal of Education* 3, no. 6 (Jan.-Apr., 1832): p. 209 for this excerpt from Sicard’s *Théorie*.

introducing methods...drawn from those employed with the deaf.”<sup>30</sup> Concentrating upon the case of language instruction, de Morgan turned back to Sicard’s model of sign language in order to assert, paradoxically, that “the child born deaf and dumb, however unfortunate his situation, has an advantage over others, in the correctness and precision with which he is taught.”<sup>31</sup>

Bereft of orality as a primary motor of learning since childhood, deaf children did not possess the range of linguistic expression that hearing students would be expected to inherit through auditory osmosis. But this auditory osmosis, rather than a blessing, was in fact a danger. While functioning ears may have permitted greater social facility in language, they also introduced greater sources of inaccuracy and error. Words and phrases heard repeatedly in misuse, whether uttered by an uneducated parent, or an ignorant schoolmaster, might lead to a lifetime of confusion and misunderstanding. Above all, the order in which words and concepts were acquired in everyday life was unsystematic. Those capable of hearing were, against all intuition, at a disadvantage: since the cradle, they had been inculcated with idioms, slang, dialectal nursery rhymes, the words of which had meanings that were often muddled, unclear, and only vaguely implied. As de Morgan wrote,

We have no longer any assurance, that the child who speaks knows the meaning of those words of which he has acquired the use. He picks up, from the conversation of others, the most delicate refinements of language, and it is thought sufficient for him to employ them by imitation. With the deaf and dumb it is different. Their language is as strict a deduction as any in geometry; no word is introduced until the pupil is aware of

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<sup>30</sup> Augustus de Morgan, “On Some Methods Employed for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb,” *Quarterly Journal of Education* 3, no. 6 (Jan.-Apr., 1832): p. 217. De Morgan’s own *Elements of Algebra* also found wide popularity in non-Western settings.

<sup>31</sup> Augustus de Morgan, “On Some Methods,” p. 217

what it supplies the place, and everything is at last reducible to that which can be felt by the senses. We might as easily secure the same advantages to those who can hear, and thus make even the acquisition of the mother-tongue contain processes of reasoning... We have often thought, while undergoing ‘How doth the little busy bee,’ or something else equally unintelligible at four years of age, what a pity it is the poor child is not dumb, at least, if not deaf, till the age when he will be allowed to talk only of what he understands.<sup>32</sup>

In contrast, a child raised upon Sicard’s model of deaf sign language would, in theory, possess a far more analytically precise grasp of words and the relation of their meanings to one another. Reduced to only the most basic vocabulary and syntax for expressing what was immediate to their senses, deaf students might approach language free from all the unwanted errors of noise that came from auditory osmosis – from custom, from culture, and from all the messiness of a situated social world. By assuming the position of the deaf, the thesis went, one achieved a purer linguistic understanding.

Baker had read de Morgan’s writings with enthusiasm, referencing them frequently in his own essays. To characterize de Morgan’s approach to language pedagogy, Baker employed the term “systematic,” thereby marking his second major criterion of the deaf textbook. The *Circle* would be, in Baker’s view, “a more comprehensive and systematic arrangement of subjects...than any at present existing in the English language.”<sup>33</sup> Advertisers, following his example, made pervasive use of the term, which also found favor among multiple reviewers. As one article enthused, Baker’s *Circle* formed “a connected course of study, the want of which in many reading books,

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<sup>32</sup> Augustus de Morgan, “On Some Methods,” pp. 217-18

<sup>33</sup> Charles Baker, Preface to *Graduated Reading I; comprising a Circle of Knowledge in 200 Lessons*, p. 1.

otherwise excellent in matter, constitutes their main imperfection, as it tends to desultory rather than systematic knowledge.”<sup>34</sup>

On the page, Baker’s “system” resembled a sort of poor man’s phenomenology. From a simplified language, Baker gradually constructed more complex analytical ideas, paralleling Sicard’s movement from concrete radicals to abstract concepts. Baker began the *Circle* with a definition of the term “objects” via the faculty of vision. “All things that we can see are objects,” ran the first sentence. “A stone, a book, a tree, a bird, a horse, a pin, a leaf, a star, a hat,” it continues, “are all *objects*.” From there, the *Circle* moved through two hundred lessons across twenty-four sections, following a continuous course from immediate and everyday “objects” into the organizations and arrangements formed by complexes of “objects.” Descriptions of the head, face, and torso fed into those of food, drink, clothing, dwelling; then the animal and plant kingdoms; and eventually, “social life,” which built up from a description of “domestic relations” to reach discussions of “government,” of “nations,” of “trade and commerce.” Finally, there came a section that treated the senses and their cognitive role in apprehending “objects,” followed by a concluding lesson on God, who, unlike “objects,” was eternal, invisible, and thus unavailable to the human senses in any direct form.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *The Bucks Herald*, 28 December 1861: p. 3. On the *Circle*’s “more extended and systematic nature,” see also *Westminster Review* 52, no. 103 (Jan., 1850): p. 319.

<sup>35</sup> See *Graduated Reading I. Consisting of a Circle of Knowledge in 200 Parts* (London: Thomas Varty & Co., 1847).

SUBJECTS OF THE LESSONS.		VIII. OF BEINGS		XVI. OF SOCIAL LIFE		XXI. OF MATTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.		1. Birds.		1. Domestic Relations.		1. Divisibility of Matter.	
2. Objects.		2. Kinds of Birds.		2. Trade and Agriculture.		2. Indestructibility of Matter.	
3. Human Beings.		3. Peculiarities of Birds.		3. Tradesmen, Mechanics, &c.		3. Attraction.	
II. THE BODY AND ITS PARTS.		4. Plumage of Birds.		4. Divers Employments.		4. Properties of Matter.	
1. The Head.		5. Nests of Birds.		5. Professions.		5. Motion.	
2. The Eyes.		6. Voices of Birds.		6. Buildings of a Town.		6. Form.	
3. The Trunk.		7. Migrations of Birds.		7. Gas.		7. Magnitude.	
4. The Upper Limbs.		8. Uses of Birds.		8. Water.		8. Measurement.	
5. The Lower Limbs.		9. Reptiles.		9. Fire.		9. Colour.	
6. The Joints.		10. Reptiles and Fishes.		10. Ventilation.		10. The Mechanical Powers.	
III. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		11. Fishes.		11. Roads and Railways.		11. The Lever.	
1. School.		12. Uses of Fishes for Food.		12. The Inclined Plane, &c.		12. The Wheel and Axle.	
2. Learning.		13. Insects.		13. The British Nation.		13. The Screw, the Pulley, &c.	
3. Plays of Boys.		14. Changes of Insects.		14. Evil-doers.		14. Mechanical Contrivances.	
4. Plays of Girls.		15. Uses of Insects.		15. Trial by Jury.		15. Mechanical Power.	
IV. THE MAMMALIA.		16. Worms and Shells.		16. War.		16. Mechanism in Nature.	
1. The Mammals.		17. Uses of Worms.		17. The Army and Navy.		17. XXIII. OF THE SENSES.	
2. The Bones, Muscles, &c.		18. Plants.		18. Money.		18. The Sight.	
3. Learning.		19. Kinds of Plants.		19. Property.		19. Hearing and Speech.	
4. Plays of Boys.		20. Trees and Shrubs.		20. Taxes.		20. The Taste and Smell.	
5. Plays of Girls.		21. Forest Trees.		XXI. OF OTHER NATIONS.		21. Feeling or Touch.	
V. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		22. The Corn Plants.		1. Europe and Asia.		22. Use of the Senses.	
1. School.		23. Garden Produce.		2. Africa and America.		23. Health.	
2. Learning.		24. Medicinal Plants.		3. Savage Nations.		24. Bodily Defects.	
3. Plays of Boys.		25. Garden Flowers.		4. Barbarous Nations.		25. Diseases.	
4. Plays of Girls.		26. Ferns, Mosses, Fungi, &c.		5. Half-Civilized Nations.		26. Death.	
VI. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		27. Uses of Plants.		6. Civilized Nations.		XXV. ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.	
1. School.		28. Growth of Plants.		1. Commerce.		1. Eternity of God.	
2. Learning.		29. The Earth.		2. Experts and Imports.		2. God Unchangeable.	
3. Plays of Boys.		30. Divisions of Land.		3. Ship.		3. God Almighty.	
4. Plays of Girls.		31. Tracts of Land.		4. Machinery.		4. God Ever-Present.	
VII. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		32. Collections of Water.		5. Language.		5. God All-Wise and Good.	
1. School.		33. Changes in Water.		6. History.		6. God Pure.	
2. Learning.		34. Substance of the Earth.		7. Newspapers and Books.		7. God Merciful and Just.	
3. Plays of Boys.		35. Earths and Salts.		8. Self-Improvement.		8. God a Spirit.	
4. Plays of Girls.		36. Metals.				9. God to be Honoured.	
VIII. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		37. Combustible Minerals.					
1. School.		38. Uses of Metals.					
2. Learning.		39. Precious Stones.					
3. Plays of Boys.		40. Kingdoms of Nature.					
4. Plays of Girls.		41. Animal Substances.					
IX. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		42. Vegetable Substances.					
1. School.		43. Roots and Oils.					
2. Learning.		44. Mineral Productions.					
3. Plays of Boys.		45. Waste Materials.					
4. Plays of Girls.		46. Materials of Little Value.					
X. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		47. Nothing is Useless.					
1. School.		48. The Earth and the Heavens.					
2. Learning.		49. The Earth & the Universe.					
3. Plays of Boys.		50. The Poles.					
4. Plays of Girls.		51. Motions of the Earth.					
XI. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		52. Equinoxes and Solstices.					
1. School.		53. The Moon.					
2. Learning.		54. The Atmosphere.					
3. Plays of Boys.		55. Meteors.					
4. Plays of Girls.		56. Divisions of the Day.					
XII. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		57. Divisions of Time.					
1. School.		58. Months and Seasons.					
2. Learning.		59. Years and Centuries.					
3. Plays of Boys.		60. The Cardinal Points.					
4. Plays of Girls.		61. The Equator & the Zones.					
XIII. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		62. The Torrid Zone.					
1. School.		63. The Frigid Zones.					
2. Learning.		64. The Temperate Zones.					
3. Plays of Boys.		65. Inhabitants of the Zones.					
4. Plays of Girls.		66. Climates.					
XIV. OF EDUCATION, ETC.		67. Productions of Climates.					
1. School.		68. Productions of Climates.					
2. Learning.		69. Productions of Climates.					
3. Plays of Boys.		70. Productions of Climates.					
4. Plays of Girls.		71. Productions of Climates.					

**2.1 Table of Contents of the *Circle of Knowledge*:** from Charles Baker, *Graduated Reading; comprising a Circle of Knowledge in 200 Lessons* (London: Thomas Varty, 1847). British Library.

The specific structure of Baker's "system" reveals the final criterion that Baker saw as essential to the "deaf" experience: natural religion. "Instruction in natural religion ought to precede that in revealed religion," wrote Baker, for this was "the only way of proceeding with the deaf and dumb, who, previous to instruction, have never conceived any notion of the Supreme Being."<sup>36</sup> Regarding the *Circle* itself, Baker "disavow[ed] any intention at religious teaching, save only the most general truths."<sup>37</sup> This approach also bore with it a strategic benefit, for it allowed the *Circle* to sidestep the most pressing pedagogical debate of the day – that over the fate of "secular education."<sup>38</sup>

Linguistic simplicity, systematicity, and natural religion were thus the three criteria of Baker's deaf textbook. Together, they pointed to a very specific pathway of

<sup>36</sup> Charles Baker, "Account of the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," in Charles Baker, *Contributions to Publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Central Society of Education* (Yorkshire: privately re-printed, 1842), p. 28.

<sup>37</sup> Charles Baker, Preface, *Manual I* (BL 12201).

<sup>38</sup> On these battles and their relation to textbook publishing, see Patrick Walsh, "The Political Economy of Irish School Books," in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book*, v. 5, *The Irish Book in English 1891-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 335-66; J.M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Education 1808-1870: A Study of the Working Class School Reader in England and Ireland* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972), pp. 90-109, on "The Secular Phase."



circulation for the *Circle*. Already in his periodical writings, Baker had analogized deaf students to “a kind of savage, strange to our customs, who is to be initiated into our ideas, our knowledge, and at the same time into our language.”<sup>39</sup> By the 1860s, Baker made the parallels more explicit. Textbooks for the deaf, Baker wrote, by “dispensing with the refined accessories of a copious and matured language...are at the same time suitable for those peoples whose imperfect languages must keep them in the cradle of the species.” Baker then added, “The same observation is applicable to an ignorant population at home.”<sup>40</sup>

Populations abroad in the “cradle of the species,” populations domestically who lacked access to schooling: the deaf textbook was therefore not merely a textbook for all, but a textbook for a very distinct type of reader who had been deemed socially, rather than only physically, disabled. Subsequent years gave evidence to Baker’s claims, demonstrating that it was among the industrial poor, women, and even convicts that the *Circle* found itself most recommended. Having surveyed Welsh schools for industrial training in 1856, Jelinger C. Symons commended the *Circle* as among “the best for general use.”<sup>41</sup> A report on the Bradford Female Education Institute in 1859 noted their selection of Baker’s *Circle* as a “class book,” explaining that the best books for females were those “written for children.”<sup>42</sup> Incidences of the *Circle* as assigned reading for the “improvement of prisoners” were observed in Pentonville, Millbank, and Parkhurst

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<sup>39</sup> Baker, “On the Education of the Deaf and Dumb,” in Charles Baker, *Contributions to Publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Central Society of Education* (Yorkshire: privately re-printed, 1842), p. 135.

<sup>40</sup> *Historical and Financial Statement of Forty Years' Work at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb* (Doncaster: printed at the Institution, 1869).

<sup>41</sup> *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education. Session 2* (1857)

<sup>42</sup> “Bradford Female Educational Institute,” *The Bradford Observer* 17 Nov. 1859, p. 6; “Female Education,” *The Bradford Observer* 24 Nov. 1859, p. 7.

prisons.<sup>43</sup> D.R. Fearon's account of a poor school in Liverpool was perhaps most evocative: "A small room on the first floor of a cottage; seven boys present; one aged fourteen, two aged twelve, one aged ten, two aged nine, and one aged seven years. They had only two books among them, viz. one Circle of Knowledge, and one Universal Spelling Book; one slate, no copybook. The oldest boy... read very badly out of the Circle of Knowledge."<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, those seeking to bring English textbooks overseas to non-English audiences resonated with Baker's pedagogical ideas. The Calcutta School-Book Society, for instance, founded in 1817 for the "cheap or gratuitous supply of books useful in schools and seminaries of learning,"<sup>45</sup> had since its inception bemoaned a lack of textbooks suitable for the radically different readership of a colonial population. Too many works presumed a familiarity with "the climate, peculiar products, scenes, and manners of Britain," rendering them "nearly unintelligible to children whose minds are formed from what they have seen and learned in Asia."<sup>46</sup> In the worst case scenario, the student "shall not acquire a single distinct idea from their perusal," and though "he may indeed learn to articulate the words, but he adds nothing to his stock of knowledge." "The mind," they concluded, "sustains a positive injury from the habit of reading and repeating what is not well understood."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons on the Discipline and Management of Pentonville, Millbank, and Parkhurst Prisons* (1865), p. 291.

<sup>44</sup> *Education. Return relating to schools for the poorer classes of children in the municipal boroughs of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester* (1870), p. 155.

<sup>45</sup> *First Report of the Calcutta School-Book Society* (Calcutta: 1818), p. 31.

<sup>46</sup> *First Report* (1818), p. 13.

<sup>47</sup> *Preliminary Report* (1817), pp. 7-8.

By beginning with the most basic objects of sense experience, rather than assuming any shared cultural or social background, Baker's *Circle* was ideal for importation into foreign contexts. Critics agreed, promoting the book as an ideal specimen of colonial education:

If the natives of our Eastern colonies are to be initiated into the language, customs, and knowledge of the West – if by means of such works as these they obtain correct ideas on astronomy, geography, and the natural laws which govern the universe, it will be impossible for the Chinese to believe in their 'Canonical Books,' or the Hindoos in their 'Shastres;' and the erroneous notions on which some of their dogmas and superstitions are founded will be eradicated, and correct information gradually take their place. To aid in this object we know of no series of books that can be compared with the four 'Gradations of the Circle of Knowledge.' We therefore look upon them as eminently adapted for schools in our colonies, and as a valuable aid to missionary efforts, independent of their importance for schools and families at home.<sup>48</sup>

Baker's *Circle* retained a prominent status in abroad, appearing on lists of books recommended to students preparing for entry to Calcutta University as late as 1875.<sup>49</sup> Yet at the same time, fissures began to emerge in its original design. Abraham Richard Fuller (1828-67), who edited a version of the *Circle* for Punjab schools in 1864, chose to forge out of the *Circle*'s individual lessons his own structure of knowledge that would better represent the Raj's attitude of neutrality and non-interference in religious matters.<sup>50</sup> Deleting entirely the last unit on God, Fuller rewrote and reorganized the preceding

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<sup>48</sup> "The 'Circle of Knowledge,'" *The Bucks Herald* 28 Dec. 1861, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> See the insert "List of Classical, Mathematical, and other Books, for the Use of Students," in *Calcutta University Calendar, 1874-75* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., Publishers to the University, 1874).

<sup>50</sup> On the religious views of colonial governments, see Ulrike Stark, op cit.; Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Norman Etherington, Introduction, in Norman Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

nineteen lessons in order to end the *Circle* on a celebration of “Mechanism in Nature.”<sup>51</sup>

Elision and revision transformed natural religion into secular science. The radicality of these changes would only intensify as the circle moved farther overseas. Circulation, ironically, would alter the very “circle” that Baker had first envisioned.

### **Silence in Translation**

Conditions would have seemed ripe for a crusade against the “erroneous notions” of China’s “Canonical Books” in the years following the Treaties of Nanjing and Humen (1842-43), as Hong Kong, Ningbo, and Shanghai metamorphosed into major hubs for Protestant missionary printing. Restricted in their movements outside of designated treaty port zones, missionaries stressed the importance of print to act as “silent messengers” for their cause.<sup>52</sup> In 1844, the London Missionary Society erected its principal Chinese press in Shanghai. Two years later, they relocated their Anglo-Chinese College and associated press from Malacca to Hong Kong, thereby establishing their second printing station on the Chinese mainland.

It was at the Hong Kong press that James Legge (1815-97), with the aid of his tutor, Yam Duen-tou, produced the first Chinese translation of Baker’s *Circle of Knowledge*.<sup>53</sup> Charged with overseeing the activities of the Anglo-Chinese College since

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<sup>51</sup> Charles Baker, *The Circle of Knowledge, revised and adapted for the Use of Boys in the Government Schools of India*, ed. A.R. Fuller (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1864). Fuller himself had earlier complained about the lack of careful systematic structure in reading books for native students, arguing, “The gradation of the reading books is not over [sic] good, and in many points the series is not thoroughly adapted to Indian Pupils.” See *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its dependencies, for the year 1861-62* (Lahore, 1862), p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the Ningpo Mission*, (Oct. 1847), Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence, PCUSA, Vol. 3, No. 48.

<sup>53</sup> In contemporary Cantonese, Jam Duantou; in Mandarin, Ren Duantu. Little is known about Ren, save that he was one of Legge’s earliest tutors in the Chinese language. Unlike informants such as Wang Tao, Yam appears only briefly in Legge’s journals and letters. See Lauren F. Pfister, *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 114, 149, 327 n. 323, 339 n. 411.

1839, Legge had long bemoaned “the want of school books, adapted for the peculiar sphere of [his] labours.”<sup>54</sup> His earliest efforts at the Malacca station consisted of English translations of simple historical tales, designed to help Chinese learners “study effectively the English language.”<sup>55</sup> Ultimately, however, Legge judged that “Mr. Baker’s lessons” alone were “better suited for [his] purpose than any others.”<sup>56</sup> Completed in December of 1856, Legge’s translation of the *Circle* served as the basis for six different editions printed in China from 1859 to 1895.

Year	Place of Publication	Publisher	Notes
1856	Hong Kong	LMS Press	dual-language, moveable type
1859	Canton	unknown	Chinese-only on woodblock
1864	Hong Kong	LMS Press	dual-language, entire type reset
1868	Hong Kong	LMS Press	Stereotyped reprinting of 1864 edition
1873	Shanghai	LMS Press (Mohai shuguan)	Chinese-only; moveable type
1883	Hong Kong	Zhonghua yinwu ju (中華印務局)	Chinese-only; moveable type
1895	Hong Kong	Man Yu Tong (文裕堂)	dual-language, entire type reset; opens left to right

## 2.2 Chinese editions of the *Circle of Knowledge* based on Legge’s text

Hearing word of the *Circle*’s popularity in Chinese translation, Charles Baker claimed to be wholly unsurprised. There was, he insisted, a reason for this phenomenon that should be “very obvious to those who are practised in the instruction of the Deaf and

<sup>54</sup> James Legge, Preface, in Charles Baker, *Graduated Reading; comprising A Circle of Knowledge* [Zhihuan qimeng shuke chubu 智環啓蒙塾課初歩], trans. James Legge (Hongkong: London Missionary Society Press, 1856), [i].

<sup>55</sup> *The Rambles of Emperor Ching Tih in Këang Nan. A Chinese Tale. Translated Tkin Shen, Student of the Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca. With a Preface by James Legge, D.D., President of the College.* 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1843), p. viii.

<sup>56</sup> Legge, Preface, *Zhihuan qimeng*, [ii].

the Dumb.”<sup>57</sup> Just as the deaf began with “no idea of inflexions, or the various modifications of words,” using “but one sign to signify *joyful, joy, to rejoice*; and that through all persons, mood, and tenses,” so too did “Asiatic languages” employ “only radical signs for ideas, which admit neither of inflexion nor composition.”<sup>58</sup> In short, Baker claimed direct parallels between the nature of Chinese characters and the process of deaf education. Most emblematic of this was the practice of “reading without spelling,” wherein deaf students learned words as “entire combinations,” and “not the letters, nor the syllables.”<sup>59</sup> The student “looks at a word, such as *table*, as a whole, conventionally used to represent a certain piece of furniture... [he] reads by words, not by syllables or letters, for at one glance, and without being conscious of recalling any one particular letter, he passes from word to word.”<sup>60</sup> Words were, for Baker, equivalent to “pictures...express[ing] different ideas.” Words were ideograms.

In a way, Baker was right about this resonance. Though Legge cared little about deaf education in general, he did care significantly about the alleged “deafness” of Chinese ideograms, assigning to it a central role in his intellectual output. The Chinese ideogram as a “silent” character had, as is well known, a long intellectual history in the European imagination of a universal language.<sup>61</sup> In the hands of missionaries such as

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<sup>57</sup> *Historical and Financial Statement of Forty Years' Work at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb* (Doncaster: printed at the Institution, 1869), p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> Baker, “On the Education of the Deaf and Dumb,” p. 131. Note that Baker is paraphrasing from the account of Chinese found in Johann Christoph Adelung, *Mithridates* (1806) I:18.

<sup>59</sup> Charles Baker, “On Teaching Reading,” in Charles Baker, *Contributions to Publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Central Society of Education* (Yorkshire: privately re-printed, 1842), pp. 224-25.

<sup>60</sup> De Morgan, “On Some Methods,” p. 212

<sup>61</sup> On the Chinese “ideogram” in early modern European intellectual history, see See Haun Saussy, *Great Walls of Discourse*; David Porter, *Ideographia*; David Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*. Specifically, for Leibniz and the Chinese ideogram, see Richard M. Swiderski, “Bouvet and Leibniz: A Scholarly Correspondence,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14, no. 2 (1980): pp. 135-

Legge, however, it was above all a tool in controversies over the status of English education and gospel translation. Overseas missions had perennially diverged over the question of whether to promote English as the true language of Christian civilization, or to promote local languages as the primary medium for the communication of religious truths. Responses to this question were neither consistent over time, nor geographical region, with considerations of race frequently playing a decisive role.<sup>62</sup> In the field of Chinese missionary activity, too, there inevitably emerged multiple detractors who maintained that a translation of the Scriptures into Chinese would be forever impossible.

Much of Legge's energy immediately prior to his work on Baker's *Circle* was dedicated to refuting these arguments. Legge not only regarded the translation of the Bible into Chinese as possible; if done with philological precision, Legge suggested, the final work would be fully equal to anything existing in English, Hebrew, and Greek. At the heart of Legge's claims stood the ideogram. Samuel Kidd (1804-43), Legge's mentor at University College London, had already praised Chinese characters as "more valuable vehicles of thought than alphabetic signs," deeming them a "superior power of expression" that could be "understood by all who have been taught to read."<sup>63</sup> Similarly, Joshua Marshman (1768-1837), a founding father of British missionary sinology, had contrasted Chinese with the inadequacy of phonetic writing as a medium for education. While a "foreigner" might be "a master of the Roman alphabet," this by no means guaranteed his

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50; Yu Liu, "The Jesuits and the Anti-Jesuits: The Two Different Connections of Leibniz with China," *The Eighteenth Century* 43, no. 2 (2002): pp. 161-74.

<sup>62</sup> Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 133-35, p. 182.

<sup>63</sup> Samuel Kidd, *Lecture on the nature and structure of the Chinese language, delivered at University College* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1838), p. 10, p. 16. Kidd, through his own admission, borrowed heavily from the "De Characteribus sinicis" chapter of Prémare's *Notitia* for his own lectures.

ability to understand even a word of written English. In contrast, Marshman claimed, one who had mastered Chinese characters could, with interpretive effort, understand all written Chinese texts.<sup>64</sup>

Legge inherited these arguments in his struggle to promote biblical translation into Chinese. According to Legge, “Chinese characters [had] their meaning apart from all pronunciation of them.”<sup>65</sup> This was because Chinese script was a practice of “writing down thought by means of symbolic characters,” and of conveying “meaning to the mind through the eye.”<sup>66</sup> Lecturing to the Royal Asiatic Society, Legge elaborated upon the soundlessness of Chinese as follows:

Let us take, as a specimen of the pictorial characters, that which represents the *sun*, and has the derivative signification of *day*. It is now written 日 ... They now call it *zǎh*; anciently they called it *nít*, or something like that, as it appears in Nippon, the name of Japan. It was the name in their common speech of *the sun*. If it had been called *sun*, or *sol*, or ἥλιος [*hēlios*], it would, as a picture, have answered its purpose equally well.<sup>67</sup>

The very fabric of the Chinese ideogram thus exemplified a commensurability between all languages. Whereas other missionaries had asserted the inferiority of Chinese by arguing that it lacked any equivalent for God, Elohim, or Theos, Legge countered that

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<sup>64</sup> Joshua Marshman, *A Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language; including Tables of the Elementary Characters, and of the Chinese Monosyllables* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1809), pp. 18-20. Marshman’s argument on this front was brought to the Anglophone public in “Art. VII. A Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language; including Tables of the Elementary Characters, and of the Chinese Monosyllables. By J. Marshman. Printed at Serampore. 1809. 4to. pp. 116,” *Quarterly Review* 5, no. 10 (May, 1811): 372-403.

<sup>65</sup> James Legge, “Principles of Composition in Chinese, as deduced from the Written Characters,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 11, no. 2 (1879): pp. 238-77, p. 252. Legge did believe that tones were important for colloquial Chinese. Even then, its value is not grammatical, but *rhetorical*.

<sup>66</sup> Legge, “Principles of Composition,” p. 259, p. 240.

<sup>67</sup> Legge, “Principles of Composition,” p. 239.



these words were all merely “relative term[s], and not an absolute.”<sup>68</sup> “The sounds are various, but the thought is one,” wrote Legge.<sup>69</sup> In turn, Legge proposed that careful historical philology would reveal that an ideogram existed in Chinese whose “radical signification” might unlock a unity between the multiple and relative phonetic values for “God.”<sup>70</sup> Far from feeling a need to dispel the “erroneous notions” of China’s “Canonical Books,” Legge encouraged their study, hoping that one could find in them the language of primitive monotheism. This belief found its greatest expression decades later, when, as first chair of Chinese language and literature at Oxford, Legge translated the Confucian canon for inclusion in Max Müller’s *Sacred Books of the East*.

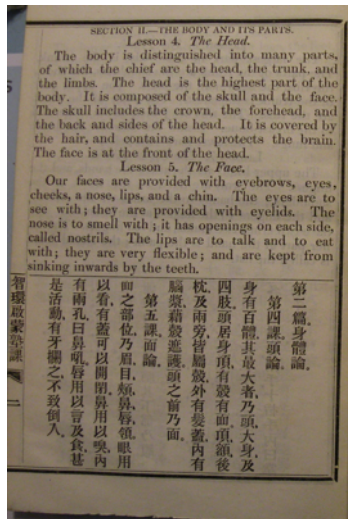
Legge’s quarrels over Scripture translation reached their peak in 1852; in 1856 came his translation of Baker’s *Circle*. The impact of his Scriptural debates upon his translation of the *Circle* was most evident in the latter’s *mise en page* – a dual-language layout that placed English at the top of the page, with its corresponding Chinese on the bottom.

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<sup>68</sup> James Legge, *The Notions of the Chinese concerning Gods and Spirits: with an examination of the defense of an essay, On the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Theos, into the Chinese Language, by William J. Boone, D.D.* (Hong Kong: Hongkong Register Office, 1852), p. 76.

<sup>69</sup> Legge, *The Notions*, p. 111.

<sup>70</sup> Legge, *The Notions*, p. 110.



**2.3 Legge's dual-language layout for the *Circle of Knowledge*:** from Charles Baker, *Graduated Reading; comprising A Circle of Knowledge* [*Zhihuan qimeng shuke chubu* 智環啓蒙塾課初步], trans. James Legge (Hongkong: London Missionary Society Press, 1856). British Library.

Legge's previous efforts at producing an English reader for Chinese students did not employ such a *mise en page*, using only English, with scattered Chinese glosses when necessary. Nor did any other books printed by the Chinese presses of the LMS or, for that matter, any of the numerous translations of the *Circle* around the world. The unique import of this *mise en page* would become clear in Legge's subsequent work, where he used a similar format – the interlinear translation – to demonstrate his theory of “radical” commensurability between Chinese and English:

The other example shall be taken from the Confucian Analects:

孔 子 曰, 君 子 有 三 戒  
K'ung Mr. say, Princely men have three beware.  
少 之 時 血 氣 未 定 戒  
Young 's time, blood breath not yet settle, beware  
之 在 色 及 其 壯 也 血 氣  
it in beauty; come to the strength —, blood breath  
方 剛 戒 之 在 鬪, 及 其 老  
then vigour, beware it in fight; come to the old  
也 血 氣 既 衰, 戒 之 在 得.  
—, blood breath have wither, beware it in get.

**2.4 Legge's method of interlinear translation:** James Legge,  
“Principles of Composition in Chinese, as deduced from the Written  
Characters,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and  
Ireland* 11:2 (Apr., 1879). Harvard University Libraries.

It is vital to take a moment to dwell on this *mise en page*, for several commentators have in recent years cited it as evidence of how Chinese came to be denigrated in the nineteenth-century denigration as a “grammarless” language.<sup>71</sup> This was, to be sure, one corollary function of Legge's interlinear translation. Yet we would be wrong to reduce it to this function alone. Similar forms of interlinear translation were also a key feature of nineteenth-century linguistic pedagogy, which increasingly saw the onerous task of memorizing inflections as a barrier to popular education, particularly in classical languages. Perhaps the most prominent example came from the catalog of John Taylor (1781-1864), the appointed bookseller and publisher to the University of London, who produced interlinear editions of the *Metamorphoses*, the *Aeneid*, and other standard texts.

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<sup>71</sup> For the two most prominent representatives of this argument, see Haun Saussy, “Always Multiple Translation, Or, How the Chinese Language Lost Its Grammar,” in *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations*, ed. Lydia H. Liu (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 107-124; Lydia Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 181-209.

Italiâ? Quippe vetor fatis! Pallas-ne  
 from-Italy? Forsooth I-am-forbidden by-the-Fates! Was-Pallas-  
 potuit exurere classem Argivum atque  
 able to-burn the-fleet of-the-Argives and  
 submergere ipsos ponto, ob noxam 40  
 to-sink themselves in-the-sea, because-of the-offence  
 et furias unius, Ajacis Oilei? Ipsa,  
 and the-frenzies of-one, of-Ajax son-of-Oileus? Herself,  
 jaculata è nubibus rapidum ignem Jovis,  
 having-hurled from the-clouds the-rapid fire of-Jove,  
 disjēctique rates, evertitque æquora ventis:  
 both-scattered the-rafts, and-upturned the-sea with-the-winds:  
 illum expirantem flammam transfixo pectore,  
 him breathing-out flames from-his-pierced breast,  
 corripuit turbine infixitque acuto scopulo. 45  
 she-snatched in-a-whirlwind and-impaled on-a-sharp rock.  
 Ast ego, quæ incēdo regina divum, quæ et  
 Yet I, who walk queen of-the-Gods, and both  
 soror et conjux Jovis, gero bella cum unâ  
 sister and consort of-Jove, I-wage wars with one  
 gente tot annos! Et quisquam-adoret præ-  
 nation so-many years! And can-any-one-adore hence-  
 terea nūmen Junonis? aut supplex impōnat  
 for-her the-divinity of-Juno? or suppliant place  
 honorem aris?  
 an oblation on-her-altars?  
 Dea volūtans talia cum se flammato 50  
 The-Goddess revolving such things with herself in-her-enflamed  
 corde, venit in Æoliam, patriam nimbōrum,  
 heart, comes into Æolia, the-country of-rain-clouds,  
 loca fœta furentibus Austris. Hic, vasto antro,  
 places pregnant with-raging south-winds. Here, in-a-vast cave,  
 n 3

**2.5 Interlinear Virgil for students:** Virgil, *The First Book of Virgil's Æneid*, with a literal interlinear translation, on the plan recommended by Mr. Locke, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: John Taylor, 1829). Harvard University Libraries.

Taylor's efforts had their roots in John Locke's attempt over a century ago to use interlinear translation as a means of introducing Latin to without reference to declension and conjugation. Quoting from Locke's interlinear translation of Aesop's *Fables*, Taylor explained the workings of the interlinear *mise en page* as follows: "The Words which answer one another being placed one over another, the signification of the one might be learnt from the other.... For [a reader] needs but cast his Eye to that which stands directly over it to know the meaning."<sup>72</sup> In essence, the interlinear translation was a technique of reading without spelling – of learning whole words, including their inflected endings, through visual correspondence, rather than through a mastery of their phonological principles.

<sup>72</sup> The original is from [John Locke], *Aesop's Fables, in English and Latin, interlineary: for the benefit of those who not having a master, would learn either of these tongues. With sculptures*. (London: printed for A. J. Churchill at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1703), a2r-v. See also Chris Stray, "John Taylor and Locke's Classical System," *Paradigm* 20 (1996): pp. 26-38.

Reading without spelling embodied Legge's belief in the ideogram as a site of soundless exchange between languages. Interlinear translation was its most direct physical expression. By presenting Chinese and English translations respectively on parallel lines, Legge was not denigrating Chinese, so much as invoking a convenient pedagogical form of the nineteenth century – one designed expressly to instill in audiences the equivalency of words apart from their phonology. Just as English and Latin could find soundless correlation for Locke, so too could Chinese and English find soundless correlation for Legge. Ultimately, interlinear translation was proof that Chinese characters could translate not only English, but any language.

That Legge did not employ an interlinear *mise en page* for his edition of Baker's *Circle* seems more an act of compliance with local circumstances than a change in his linguistic conceptualization. In contrast to English, Chinese was still read natively from top to bottom and right to left, and the LMS press, itself staffed by native compositors, preferred to observe this rule. Regardless of specific layout, however, the important point is that Legge believed some dual-language *mise en page* to be an absolute necessity for the book. While Legge gave his approvals to two subsequent editions that retained his dual-language *mise en page*, he did not give approval to any of the several contemporaneous editions that reproduced only the Chinese text without the English. This included an 1873 Chinese-only edition printed by the LMS, and an 1883 Chinese-only edition printed by Legge's long-time friend and collaborator, Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-97).<sup>73</sup> In its daily function, Legge's *Circle of Knowledge* may have been a textbook

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<sup>73</sup> Wang Tao had purchased the Hong Kong printing establishment from the LMS in 1873, renaming it the "Chinese Press," or *Zhonghua yinwu ju* (中華印務局). See Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*, p. 42; Xiantao Zhang, *The Origins of the Modern Chinese Press*:

for learning English. But the particular form it took spoke to its existence as more than a textbook for the colonialist task of spreading “civilized” Western knowledge. In Legge’s hands, the dual-language *Circle* was one more means for him to assert a larger project concerning the adequacy of Chinese as a language of translation, equal in its ability to convey religious truth.

### Quiet Agency

The LMS edition of the *Circle* was not the only one to be produced in China. While Legge worried about the complexities of the ideogram, French instructors at the Fuzhou Arsenal had produced their own French-language version of Baker’s *Circle* by 1870 for the use of Chinese students in their naval school.<sup>74</sup> Hong Kong government schools meanwhile employed a modified Chinese version of Baker’s *Circle* under the title *Chuxue jieti* (初學階梯), claiming that the textbook’s approach represented “an improved method of studying Chinese...than the time-honoured range through which Chinese boys usually have to toil their way.”<sup>75</sup>

Nevertheless, through the labors of American missionaries, it was Legge’s version of the *Circle* that would have the most significant impact in Japan. Following on the heels of the British, the U.S. concluded the Treaty of Wangxia in 1844, granting its own citizens their share in extraterritorial privileges within China’s new port towns. Among the new American arrivals was John Liggins (1829-1912), who landed in Shanghai in 1856. Despite his Episcopalian affiliation, Liggins maintained close ties with members of

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*The Influence of the Protestant Missionary Press in Late Qing China* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 110-11.

<sup>74</sup> “The Foochow Arsenal,” *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 1 Jan. 1870, p. 216.

<sup>75</sup> “You xue chu jie *The Child’s Primer*; Chu xue jie ti *The Graduated Reading Book*,” *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 1 Jul. 1876, p. 312.

the non-conformist LMS, who printed his writings at their Shanghai press.<sup>76</sup> It is thus no surprise to find that when Liggins arrived at Nagasaki in May of 1859 as the first American missionary in Japan, he discerned there a unique opportunity for Chinese missionary print. Although the distribution of Christian tracts continued to face strict censorship, Japanese officials appeared willing to tolerate “scientific works containing an admixture of Christianity.” As educated Japanese were roughly fluent in classical Chinese, great success might be had, Liggins recommended, by distributing throughout Japan “scientific works by American missionaries in China.” In time, Liggins predicted, “these geographical, historical and scientific works, prepared by the missionaries in Chinese” might even become “the *pioneer literature for Japan* [emph. in original].”<sup>77</sup>

Liggins’ comments touched upon a feature of the *Circle*’s transformation in Japan: that it was understood less as a means to learn English – the purpose for which Baker had originally intended it – and more as part of a series of introductory textbooks on science, history, and geography emanating from Chinese missionary presses. Guido F. Verbeck (1830-98) of the U.S. Dutch Reformed Church, who in the wake of Liggins’ premature departure due to health complications took charge of missionary book distribution at Nagasaki, stressed that a “desire after scientific knowledge” on the part of Japanese audiences was the key to establishing a strong evangelical presence.<sup>78</sup> From February through October of 1860, Verbeck disposed of nearly 400 volumes “on science, history,

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<sup>76</sup> John Liggins, *Familiar Phrases in English and Romanized Japanese* (Shanghai: London Missionary Society Press, 1860).

<sup>77</sup> John Liggins, “Letter from Rev. Mr. Liggins (Nagasaki, May 26, 1859,” *Spirit of Missions*, October 1859, p. 461; Liggins, “Letter from Rev. Mr. Liggins (Nagasaki, August 10, 1859),” *Spirit of Missions*, Feb. 1860, pp. 55-56.

<sup>78</sup> *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, and Fourth of Separate Action, with the Treasurer's Tabular and Summary Report of Receipts, for the Year ending April 30th, 1861* (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1861), p. 18.

geography, etc.” ordered from both LMS and American Presbyterian presses in China, especially Shanghai.<sup>79</sup> By the end of 1860, that number had risen to 496, among them “Dr. Legg’s [sic] Circle of Knowledge,” copies of which had been sent, “per Japanese War steamer, to Yedo direct.”<sup>80</sup>

Of these copies, one fell into the hands of the samurai official Harada Goichi 原田吾一 (1830-1910), an instructor at the shogunal Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, the principal site for the study of the West in Japan. Though known primarily for his translations of Dutch military manuals, Harada had commenced the study of English approximately a year earlier, armed only with the text of John Holtrop’s *New English and Dutch Dictionary* (1801).<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, it would appear that Harada paid little attention to Baker’s *Circle* in its original function as a textbook for English language acquisition. When, in the second lunar month of 1861, he submitted a request to censors to reprint the *Circle of Knowledge*, Harada noted explicitly that his interest was only in reproducing the classical Chinese text, and that he wished to print a limited number of copies for circulation among his “colleagues” (同志) – likely a reference to fellow instructors at the Institute. The request was approved, on the condition that Harada eliminate direct references to God, in particular the final and twenty-fourth section of the

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<sup>79</sup> Guido F. Verbeck to Ph. Peltz, Nagasaki, Japan 16 October 1860 (Gardner A. Sage Library, 743/1/1).

<sup>80</sup> Guido F. Verbeck, Nagasaki Branch of the Japan Mission, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1860 (Gardner A. Sage Library, 743/1/1)

<sup>81</sup> Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuō jiden* (Tokyo: Jiji shinpōsha, 1903), pp. 168-69. Fukuzawa and Harada studied English together. Note that Fukuzawa also owned a copy of the 1856 Legge *Circle*. The copy is now in the Kanbara Collection at Kagawa University.



*Circle*, reducing it to 192 lessons.<sup>82</sup> Harada set to work. A year later, in the early summer, appeared the first edition of Baker's *Circle* printed in Japan.

Harada's edition appears to have gone through two different print runs.<sup>83</sup> Nearly a decade later, after shogunal forces had retreated to Shizuoka following the capture of Edo by opposition forces, Harada's original blocks were used to reprint the *Circle* for students at the Numazu Academy. Simultaneously, authorities at the domainal academy of Kagoshima commissioned their own Chinese-only version of the text, identical in content to Harada's edition, but carved on new blocks. Collectively, these editions pointed to a curious feature of the *Circle*'s reception in Japan, namely, that it lost its status as an English reader, and was used primarily as a resource for the acquisition of new scientific vocabulary in Chinese.

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<sup>82</sup> *Kaihan miaratame genchō* 開版見改元帳, in *Nihon kagaku gijutsu-shi taikēi* 日本科学技術史大系, vol. 1, ed. Nihon Kagakushi Gakkai 日本科学史学会 (Tokyo: Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1964), pp. 61-66. When Harada first petitioned for permission to publish, he did not have a manuscript; he simply submitted a copy of the 1856 Legge *Circle* indicating that he wished to reproduce the Chinese. Censors returned the copy of Legge's *Circle* indicating the sections they wished to have removed. Harada completed a fair copy of the classical Chinese, with annotations to facilitate reading, in the fourth month of 1862, receiving permission to print two weeks later. A printed copy of the work was submitted to censors on the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month of 1862.

<sup>83</sup> Surviving copies exist on two different sizes of paper. Taking into account that there are more surviving copies in a smaller format (6 copies vs. 2 copies), and that one of the surviving copies in the larger format bears a seal indicating that it was a sample submitted to censors (Naikaku Bunko, National Archives, Japan, 312-0060), it seems reasonable to conjecture that some time after distributing a limited number of copies to his colleagues, as per his original intention, Harada then had a greater number printed for wider circulation.

Year	Place of Publication	Publisher	Title	Editor	Notes
1862	[Edo?]	[unknown]	<i>Chikan keimō</i> 智環啓蒙	Harada Goichi 原田 吾一	Chinese-only (1856), woodblock
1866	Edo	Edo Kaibutsu-sha 江戸開物社	<i>Chikan keimō</i> 智環啓蒙	Yanagawa Shunsan 柳 河春三	dual-language (English 1856, Chinese 1864), woodblock
1867	Edo	Yamatoya Kihee 大和喜兵衛	<i>Chikan keimō</i> 智環啓蒙	Yanagawa Shunsan 柳 河春三	dual-language, same woodblocks as 1866
1870	Numazu	Masuda Uemon 増田右衛門	<i>Chikan keimō</i> 智環啓蒙	Harada Goichi 原田 吾一	Chinese-only, same woodblocks as 1862
1870	Kagoshima	Kagoshima-han [Kagoshima Domain] 鹿児島 藩	<i>Chikan keimō</i> 智環啓蒙	unknown	Chinese-only (1856), woodblock (text identical to Harada edition, but blocks newly carved)
1870	Hiroshima	Academy Yōgakusho [Academy of Western Learning] 広島洋学所	<i>Chikan keimō</i> 智環啓蒙	unknown	English-only (1864), moveable type
? (after Sept. 1868)	Tokyo	Yamatoya Kihee 大和喜兵衛	<i>Chikan keimō</i> 智環啓蒙	Yanagawa Shunsan 柳 河春三	dual-language, same woodblocks as 1866

## 2.6 Japanese editions of the *Circle* based on Legge's versions

To be sure, the table above would seem to indicate, against this claim, that there was a demand for a *Circle* with English, embodied in the frequent reprinting of a dual-language edition edited by Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三 (1832-70) first published in 1866. Survival rates lend further support to this conjecture, with forty-three total copies of the 1866, 1867, and post-1868 editions still existing in Japan, compared to only twenty-six copies for the Harada, Numazu, and Kagoshima editions summed together.<sup>84</sup> These statistics prove misleading, however, upon a close examination of Yanagawa's text.

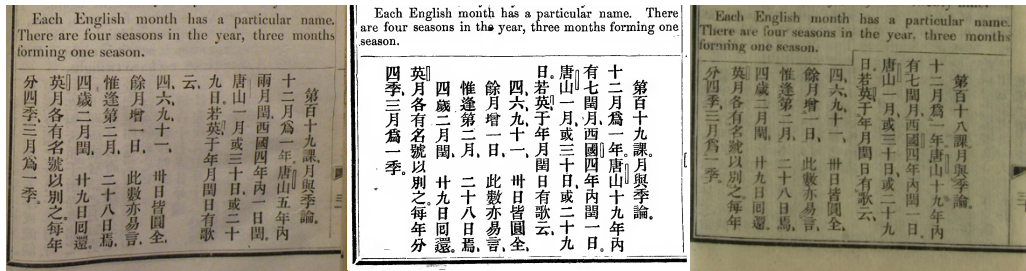
<sup>84</sup> These results are compiled from the author's personal survey.

Yanagawa, like Harada, was an instructor at the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, though arguably far more successful; in 1867, he would be promoted to the position of Headmaster of the Institute. When he first set about reproducing a dual-language copy of Legge's *Circle*, he had in his possession only the 1856 original of Legge's edition. Woodblocks had already been carved, and a draft print prepared, when Yanagawa's friend, Narushima Ryūhoku 成島柳北 (1837-84), wrote that he had come across a revised edition of Legge's *Circle* from the LMS Hong Kong press printed in 1864. Would it not be advisable, Narushima inquired, to instead use this revised edition?<sup>85</sup> Yanagawa agreed – at least, in part. The final published version of his *Circle* used the Chinese from Legge's second edition, while retaining the English from the first.

To an extent, economic considerations played role in Yanagawa's editorial decision. Physical evidence shows that rather than having the woodblocks entirely recarved, Yanagawa erased and carved over only those parts of the Chinese that required changes, often forcing him to alter the line separating English and Chinese in order to create sufficient space for extra Chinese characters. Altering the English, in contrast, was not worth the extra cost.

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<sup>85</sup> Osatake Takeshi 尾佐竹猛, *Shinbun zasshi no sōritsusha Yanagawa Shunsan* 新聞雑誌の創立者 柳河春三 (Nagoya: Nagoya shidankai, 1919), p. 65. In the letter, Narushima mentions that Yanagawa had provided him with a sample printed copy of the work, indicating that the blocks had already been prepared.

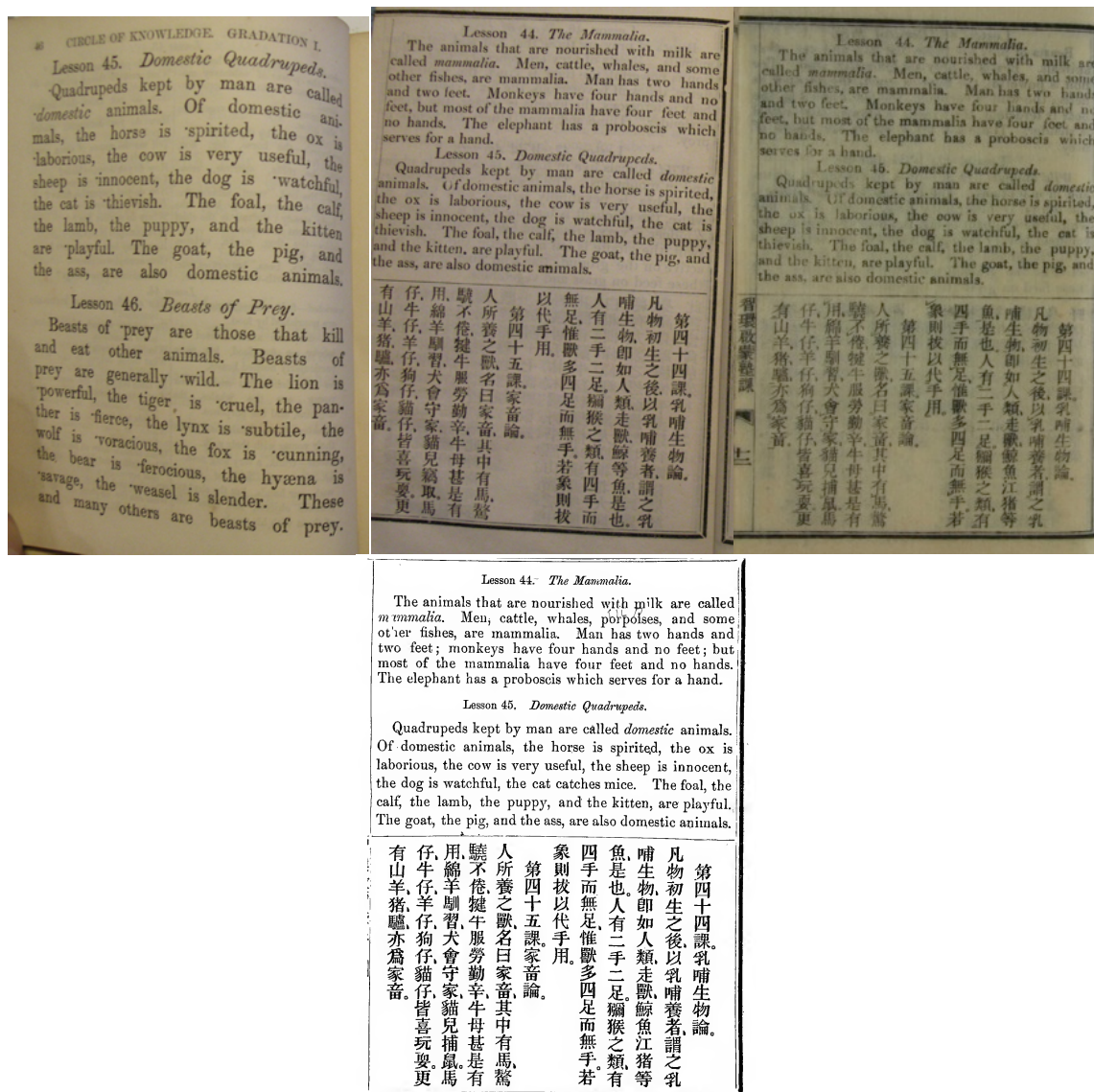


**2.7 Comparison of three versions of the Chinese *Circle*:** Charles Baker, *Circle of Knowledge*, tr. James Legge (Hong Kong: LMS Press, 1856), British Library; Baker, *Circle*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., tr. Legge (Hong Kong: LMS Press, 1864), Cornell University; Baker, *Circle*, tr. Legge, ed. Yanagawa Shunsan (Edo: Edo Kaibutsusha, 1866), University of Tokyo.

At the same time, the very fact that this was not worth the additional financial and temporal burden implies that Yanagawa did not expect accuracy in the English to be of much concern for his readers. The deliberateness of his decision is all the more obvious when we take into account that Yanagawa was fluent in English.<sup>86</sup> It therefore seems impossible that he would have been unaware of the numerous discrepancies, at times humorous, produced by the combination of the 1856 English and 1864 Chinese. Legge's 1856 edition, for example, retained Baker's original description of cats as "thievish." In the 1864 edition, Legge changed this to read, more neutrally, "the cat catches mice." Whereas Yanagawa's Chinese reads, accordingly, "the cat catches mice" (貓兒捕鼠), the English in Yanagawa's edition continues to read "cats are thievish." Similar mismatches, including the retention of English misprints that Legge later corrected in the 1864 edition, further imply that Yanagawa deliberately ignored accuracy in English.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Yanagawa maintained friendly correspondence with the British diplomat Ernest Satow (1843-1929). See Osatake, *Shinbun zasshi*, p. 47.

<sup>87</sup> For example, "Civisions" corrected to "Divisions" in the title of Lesson 91, or the correction of "Mouths and Decades" to "Months and Decades" in the title of Lesson 119.



**2.8 Comparison of four versions of the *Circle*:** From left to right, top to bottom, Baker, *Circle of Knowledge* (1847), British Library; Baker, *Circle*, tr. and ed. James Legge (1856), British Library; Baker, *Circle*, tr. James Legge, ed. Yanagawa Shunsan (1866), University of Tokyo; Baker, *Circle*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Hong Kong ed., tr. and ed. James Legge (1864), Cornell University.

The popularity of Yanagawa's dual-language edition therefore cannot be interpreted as an indication that the *Circle* was read for its English. Much to the contrary, Yanagawa's editorial decision shows that English was not a primary concern, despite its presence on the page. Instead, the significance for readers of Yanagawa's edition lay

instead in that its Chinese was up-to-date, compared to the 1856 edition, and that its contents were unexpurgated.<sup>88</sup>

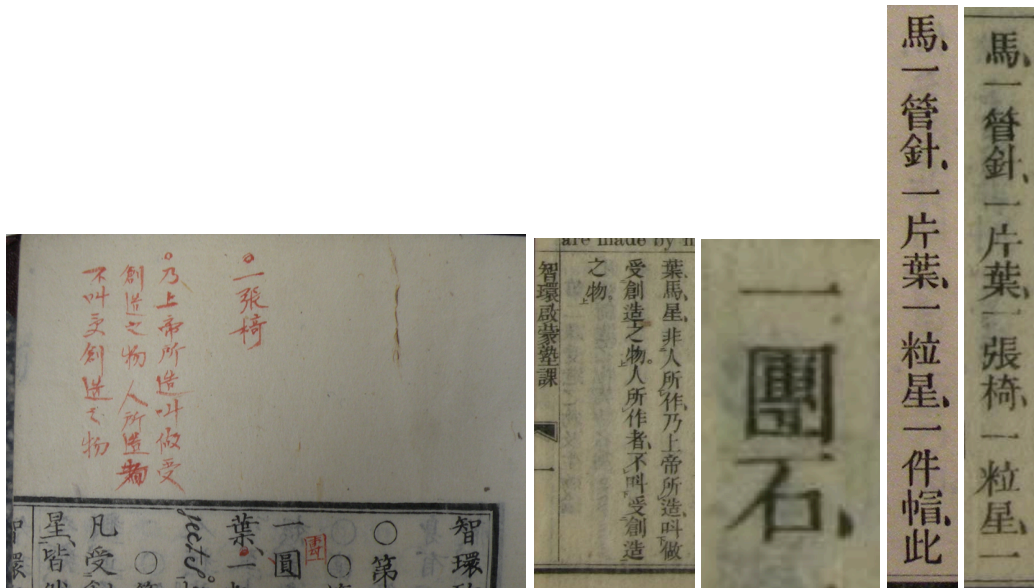
Consider the case of Tanaka Yoshio 田中芳男 (1838-1916), the famed naturalist who was appointed to the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books as an instructor after the retirement of his mentor, Itō Keisuke 伊藤圭介 (1803-1901), in 1864.<sup>89</sup> Tanaka left copious marginalia in his personal copy of Harada's 1862 edition of the *Circle*. These marginalia took on three distinct forms. The first kind appears at the top of the page, outside the margins of the woodblock; the second appears in the body of the text, where certain characters are crossed out and replaced by new characters; the third kind, also appearing in the body of the text, comprises phonetic Japanese glosses on Chinese characters.

We see the first two of these forms of annotation at work below. Tanaka's notes are, from right to left, first, "one chair" (一張椅), and second, a much longer passage that begins "What is made by God is called a created thing" (乃上帝所造叫做受創造之物). Next, in the body of the main text, Tanaka has crossed out the character for "round" (C: *yuan*; J: *en*), and replaced it with the character for "lump" or "ball" (C: *tuan*; J: *dan*).

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<sup>88</sup> Scholarship has not touched on this latter aspect; nor have I discovered any definitive evidence as to how Yanagawa was able to bypass censors. A working hypothesis is as follows: the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books was in charge of censorship texts related to Western knowledge, and Yanagawa, as evidenced by his promotion to headmaster, was a major figure at the Institute. It is possible he used his authority there to have the *Circle* published with full Christian references.

<sup>89</sup> On the importance of Tanaka Yoshio for the development of modern natural history in Japan, see Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 303.



**2.9 Tanaka Yoshio's marginalia in the *Circle*, compared:** From left to right, Baker, *Circle of Knowledge*, tr. James Legge, ed. Harada Goichi (1862), Tanaka Yoshio Collection, University of Tokyo; (2, 3, 5) Baker, *Circle*, tr. James Legge, ed. Yanagawa Shunsan (Edo: Edo Kaibutsusha, 1866), University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute; (4) Baker, *Circle*, tr. James Legge (Hong Kong: LMS Press, 1856).

A comparison with the 1856 edition of Legge's *Circle*, as well as the Chinese of the 1864 edition reproduced by Yanagawa, reveals that “one chair” was a revision made by Legge in the 1864 edition, having accidentally dropped the term in the 1856 edition. Meanwhile, the passage on God was a word-for-word transcription of a passage censored in Harada's text, but present, identically, in both 1856 and 1864 Legge editions. Finally the correction of “round” to “lump” represented an error of transcription made by Harada when producing his 1862 edition of the text.

Tanaka had therefore clearly been using a copy of the *Circle* based on Legge's 1864 edition to supplement and correct his copy of the Harada edition. This was, most likely, Yanagawa's mongrel reprint of 1866, rather than an original Chinese second edition.<sup>90</sup> Differing versions of the *Circle* could therefore function in tandem to

<sup>90</sup> This supposition is based on the very low survival rate of the 1864 Legge edition in Japan. My survey of university, museum, and prefectural libraries found only three copies, one at the Gotoh Museum in Tokyo, another in the Tōyō Bunko branch collection of the NDL, and a third copy in the Butō Collection at

supplement one another's lacunae, forming a multi-textual experience of reading.

Yanagawa's version of the *Circle*, despite being dual-language, was useful in this regard for readers such as Tanaka, who sought a complete Chinese text.

Why might Tanaka have been so interested in filling in gaps in his own copy? His third form of marginalia – phonetic glosses – supplies at least one answer. Throughout the text, Tanaka only glossed terms for animals, plants, and minerals. Thus, the Chinese for “turkey” 火鷄 (huoji) is glossed into the Japanese *shichimenchō*, and the Chinese for “pigeon” 白鴿 (baige) is glossed as *hato*. As a naturalist, it seems that Tanaka may have employed the *Circle* as a reference for learning the proper Chinese characters that corresponded to native Japanese terms. This hypothesis is supported by existing evidence that other naturalists of the era openly acknowledged Legge's version of the *Circle* as a nomenclatural resource. The notes of Abe Yoshitō 阿部喜任 (1805-70), for instance, list the *Circle* as one of the thirteen “reference texts” (引証書目) consulted during his reading of the *Hinbutsu meii* 品物名彙 (1859), a botanical lexicon.<sup>91</sup> Tanaka's drive for textual completeness through the comparison of multiple editions was therefore less the bibliophile's desire for an integral edition, and more the naturalist's desire to establish the correct the names of things. In this sense, Baker's “systematic” organization made the *Circle* ideal, moving Tanaka step by step through a nomenclature of the natural world.

The importance of an accurate Chinese text would have ironic consequences a decade and a half later. In 1879, there appeared a thin volume of 102 pages entitled *An*

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Nagasaki University. In contrast, as mentioned above, over fourteen times that number of copies survive for the Yanagawa version.

<sup>91</sup> Hirano Mitsuru 平野満, “Bakumastu no honzōgakusha Abe Yoshitō (Rekisai) no nenpu 幕末の本草学者阿部喜任 (榎斎) の年譜,” *Sankō shoshi kenkyū* 56 (2002): p. 50.



*Introduction to Chinese Learning* 漢学入門. The volume's colophon indicates that it was edited and published by a Tokyo resident named Satō Ryūji 佐藤劉二, of whom little is known, save that he had once been a samurai of Aizu domain, loyal to the shogun, and on the losing side of the civil war that followed the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In 1870, he translated a text on physics authored in classical Chinese by the American missionary W.A.P. Martin (1827-1916); in 1880, he would edit an introductory dictionary of terms on agricultural science.<sup>92</sup>

A quick glance inside Satō's *Introduction to Chinese Learning*, however, reveals familiar material. The book comprises 23 sections and 192 lessons, beginning with the words, in Chinese, "A stone, a book, a tree, a bird, a horse, a pin, a leaf, a star, a hat, are all things the eye can see." From there, the book builds a continuous course, proceeding out of immediate and everyday "objects" and into the institutions formed by complexes of "objects." Descriptions of the head, face, and torso feed into those of food, drink, clothing, dwelling; then the animal and plant kingdoms; and eventually, "social life," which builds up from a description of "domestic relations" to reach discussions of "government," of "nations," of "trade and commerce," before terminating abruptly with a section on the role of the senses in cognition.

Satō had copied the text of Harada's 1862 edition of the *Circle*. Only this time, in Japan of 1879, the *Circle* was anything but a "initiat[ion] into the language, customs, and knowledge of the West." It had become instead an initiation into the reading of classical Chinese.

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<sup>92</sup> W.A.P. Martin, *Kakubutsu nyūmon wage. Rikigaku no bu* 格物入門和解力学之部, ed. and trans. Satō Ryūji (Tokyo: Inada Sahei, 1870); Satō Ryūji, ed., *Shōgaku dokuhon nōgaku nyūmon jibiki* 小学読本農学入門字引 (Tokyo: Barazakura, 1880).

## Recycling Trash

In a fashion similar to the repurposing of Legge's translation as a textbook for classical Chinese instruction in Japan, the Hong Kong LMS editions of Baker's *Circle* circulated back to Anglo-American audiences as a study aid for the acquisition of Chinese. As early as 1868, Trübner & Co. began advertising Legge's translation alongside Stanislas Julien's *Exercices pratiques* and Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* as an introduction to sinology.<sup>93</sup> This image was further propagated by the inclusion of Legge's dual-language *Circle* in Chinese pavilions at multiple international exhibitions, where, among other bilingual dictionaries and grammars, the text came to function symbolically as a cultural bridge.<sup>94</sup>

These sources indicate that the Chinese *Circle* may well have outlived Baker's original *Circle* among an Anglophone readership. Its decline in Britain grew particularly pronounced following the Revised Code of 1862. Known popularly as the system of "payment by results," the Revised Code anchored school funding to student performance on annual exams in reading, writing, and mathematics.<sup>95</sup> Standardized testing in turn meant that textbooks were to become ever more central sites for structuring curricula nationwide. Critics saw this as a moment of opportunity: if textbooks were to become the dominant medium through which students received instruction, then now would be the time to determine precisely what contents were appropriate for fostering proper cultural

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<sup>93</sup> "Books for the Study of the Chinese & Japanese Languages," *Trübner's American and Oriental Literary Record* 31 (1868): p. 134.

<sup>94</sup> In 1876, at the United States International Exhibition in Philadelphia, Legge's *Circle* was chosen as one of the display books (the exhibit was coordinated/curated by the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs [Service] 海關總稅務司署).

<sup>95</sup> Government funding had previously been limited to "building grants" in 1833, and after that more piecemeal coverage of "maintenance." For these standards, see P.H.J.H. Gosden, *How They Were Taught: An Anthology of Contemporary Accounts of Learning and Teaching in England 1800-1950* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969).

literacy. So it was that Baker's *Circle* came to be attacked as little more than "superficial science." While students might learn from it the classification of birds, prolonged exposure to the *Circle* would render students "unable to quote accurately a line of Horace, or demonstrate a proposition of Euclid."<sup>96</sup>

The most renowned figure to attack Baker's *Circle* in this context was none other than Matthew Arnold, with whose criticisms this chapter began. According to his journal, he had come across the *Circle* some time in late 1863, the first year in which the Revised Code had been placed into effect.<sup>97</sup> Arnold had naturally been skeptical of the Code all along, warning that "payment by results" would tend to rote learning, and favor mere technical proficiency over "the real attainments of intellectual life." Yet he nonetheless held out hope that British textbooks, confronted by these new circumstances, might take a turn for the better. It was in this spirit that he launched his critique of Baker's *Circle* as "trash."<sup>98</sup>

Perhaps he was right. Or perhaps his judgment reflected only his own deafness to the voices of men such as Yanagawa Shunsan, who found in the *Circle* a "great blessing." Over the course of its migration out of Britain, into the hands of missionaries, through the world of elite Japanese scholars, and back again into the Anglophone world, Baker's *Circle* had undergone a radical transformation of function, adapted at each stage for new pedagogical and intellectual purposes. Intent upon "propagat[ing] the best that is known

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<sup>96</sup> *Saunders, Otley, & Co.'s Literary Budget* (Jan. 1, 1862), p. 12

<sup>97</sup> William Bell Guthrie, "Matthew Arnold's Diaries, the unpublished items, p. 422.

<sup>98</sup> Matthew Arnold, "General Report for the Year 1863," in *Reports on Elementary Schools, 1851-1882*, ed. Sir Francis Sandford (London: Macmillan, 1889), pp. 97-98.

and thought in the world,” Arnold failed to notice the most obvious.<sup>99</sup> As trash accumulates, populations recycle. And it was precisely through such economies of recycling that books became global.

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<sup>99</sup> Matthew Arnold, “The Function of Criticism at the Present Time” (1864), in *Essays in Criticism* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1865), pp. 38-39.

**CHAPTER III**  
**From Barbarian Books to Chinese Textbooks:**  
**Missionary Print and the Making of Modern Japanese Knowledge**

When Yanagawa Shunsan reported circa 1860 on imported books to be had in Yokohama, his attention and praise were not directed toward European-language texts. “The United States and Britain have of late dedicated themselves to the mastery of Chinese Learning,” Yanagawa wrote, and “the number of works...from Shanghai and Hong Kong has grown exceedingly great.” Yanagawa then went on to list the Chinese titles that he had encountered. Among them were translations: John Herschel’s *Outlines of Astronomy*, Augustus de Morgan’s *Treatise on Algebra*, Elias Loomis’ *Elements of Analytical Geometry*, Charles Baker’s *Circle of Knowledge*.<sup>1</sup> Original works, too, received notice: Benjamin Hobson’s *Bowu xinbian* 博物新編 (Natural Philosophy; Canton 1855), Alexander Wylie’s *Zhongxue jianshuo* 重學淺說 (Popular Treatise on Mechanics; Shanghai 1858), William Muirhead’s *Dili quanzhi* 地理全志 (Universal Geography; Shanghai 1853-54), and Richard Quarterman Way’s *Diqiu shuolüe* 地球說略 (Ningpo, 1856).<sup>2</sup> Concerning these titles, Yanagawa was enthused. “They indicate to us,” he declared, “the world’s growth and prosperity.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Published, respectively, as *Tantian* 談天 (Shanghai 1859), *Daishuxue* 代數學 (Shanghai 1859), *Daiweiji* 代微積 (Shanghai 1859).

<sup>2</sup> The English titles are rendered from *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867); and *Catalogue of the Books Printed at the Ningpo Mission Press, and for Sale at the Depository of the Presbyterian Mission Shanghai*. G/C58.9/P92, William Gamble Collection, Library of Congress.

<sup>3</sup> 「舶来書籍・・・近今英米二国。務脩漢学。在香港上海等处所刊漢字ノ著書頗多。亦足知全世界之繁昌矣。」 Kinkei rōjin (Yanagawa Shunsan) 錦溪老人, *Yokohama hanjō ki shohen* 横浜繁昌記初編 (n.d.). The actual date of this work is unknown; the year 1860 given above is an estimate based upon Maeda Ai’s research. See Maeda Ai 前田愛, “Yanagawa Shunsan *Yokohama hanjō ki* 柳河春三『横浜繁昌記』,” *Maeda Ai chosakushū* 前田愛著作集, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1989), 507-10. The dating is of some importance. It is possible to conceive of this as an advertisement. As we will see later in this

Over two centuries later, we seem to have all but forgotten about Yanagawa's enthusiasm. Our narratives of East Asia's short nineteenth century (1842-95) persist in the assumption that Japan's embrace of Western knowledge was the key determinant of its "ascendancy," in contrast to Chinese "failure."<sup>4</sup> We are told, for instance, that unlike China's attitude of cultural arrogance, Japanese scholars, observing the consequences of the First Opium War, turned their minds away from backwards "Chinese Learning" to embrace the study of the West.<sup>5</sup> We are told, furthermore, that by doing so, Japan emerged as the original site of East Asian modernity, exporting Western knowledge to its neighboring countries.<sup>6</sup>

Yet it was textbooks by Western missionaries in China, and not Western books themselves, that occupied Yanagawa's excitement. His words therefore complicate our narrative of East Asian modernity, pointing to the role of missionaries in China as early

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chapter, a large number of these works were reprinted by the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, of which Yanagawa was then a member, and of which he would eventually become the director.

<sup>4</sup> For a brief description, see Nathan Sivin, "Science and Medicine in Chinese History," *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, ed. Paul S. Rupp (Berkeley: UC Press, 1990), esp. pp. 166-67. Sivin, describing the typical narrative, writes, "Centuries of disastrous fiscal and other administrative policies...cultural homogeneity that left traditional values and forms practically unchallenged as the creativity behind them was sapped by intellectual orthodoxies." On the "failure" trope in Chinese discourse and its constructive role in shaping national identity, see Jing Tsu, *Failure, Nationalism, and Literature: The Making of Modern Chinese Identity, 1895-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> For a representative narrative, see the 1988 Reischauer Lectures of Marius B. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). Even those studies that stress the continued relevance of Chinese Learning admit a qualitative change in the nature of *kangaku* that brought it closer in line with European Sinology. See Margaret Mehl, *Private Academies of Chinese Learning in Meiji Japan: The Decline and Transformation of Kangaku Juku* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2003), pp. 25-28; Ikuma Hironobu 生馬寛信, ed., *Bakumatsu ishin-ki kangaku juku no kenkyū* 幕末維新期漢学塾の研究 (Hiroshima: Keisuishsha, 2003). On the complicity between *yōgaku* and a third term left unexplored here, *kokugaku*, see the work of Itazawa Takeo 板沢武雄, one of the founders of the field of the history of early modern Dutch-Japanese relations: Itazawa Takeo, "Kokugaku to Yōgaku 国学と洋学," *Kokugaku to kokubungaku* 16, no. 10 (1939).

<sup>6</sup> Among works that view Japan as an "exporter" of East Asian modernity, see Alexis Dudden, *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), p. 33; Joseph Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. x, and "Postscript," p. 262; Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 136-64.

brokers of Western knowledge in Japan. As recent scholarship in the history of science has shown, it was precisely these “brokers,” largely forgotten and anonymous, who conditioned the global circulation of ideas, forming a “government by go-betweens” that maintained communication across cultural, linguistic, and geographic divides.<sup>7</sup>

Demonstrating knowledge as contingent upon such brokerage, in turn, destabilizes inherited East-West binaries, exposing a multipolar world of intermediate agents whose networks trespassed and transgressed the boundaries of nation-states.<sup>8</sup>

This chapter explores the ways in which textbooks produced by missionary presses in China mediated Japan’s transition into modernity. Contrary to comments made by scholars in passing, such brokerage was not a matter of mere linguistic convenience.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Most notably, Kapil Raj, “Beyond Postcolonialism...and Postpositivism: Circulation and the Global History of Science,” *Isis* 104, no. 2 (Jun., 2013): pp. 337-47. The phrase “government by go-betweens” comes from Simon Schafer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, and James Delbourgo, Introduction to *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770-1820*, ed. Schafer, Roberts, Raj, and Delbourgo (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, U.S.A., 2009), p. xi. Other recent works to introduce similar approaches to knowledge circulation include: Lissa Roberts, “Situating Science in Global History: Local Exchanges and Networks of Circulation,” *Itinerario* 33, no. 1 (2009): pp. 9-30; Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2002); Sven Dupré and Christoph Lüthy, eds., *Silent Messengers: The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011); Lissa Roberts, ed., *Centres and Cycles of Accumulation in and around the Netherlands during the Early Modern Period* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> I am, of course, invoking Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). For a recent and thought-provoking examination of how the very concept of “Western science” was invented by go-betweens, especially missionaries, in Asia, see Marwa Elshakry, “When Science Became Western: Historiographical Reflections,” *Isis* 101, no. 1 (Mar. 2010): pp. 98-109. The question of ground-level colonial interactions in the creation of scientific knowledge has expanded recently into a significant historiographical subfield of its own. See, for instance: Tsukahara Tōgo 塚原東吾, “Kagaku to teikokushugi o hiraku chihei 科学と帝国主義を開く地平,” *Gendai shisō* 29, no. 10 (2001): pp. 156-75; Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, eds., *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Daniela Bleichmar, Paula De Vos, Kristin Huffine, and Kevin Sheehan, eds., *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Brett Bennette and Joseph M. Hodge, eds., *Science and Empire: Knowledge and Networks of Science across the British Empire, 1800-1970* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> A view asserted by Marius Jansen, Peter Kornicki, and Rebekah Clements, amongst others. See Marius Jansen, *China and the Tokugawa World*, pp. 72-76; Peter F. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural*

Rather, as I demonstrate here, missionary textbooks performed a specific practical function in Japanese struggles over the control and management of Western knowledge. This function was, furthermore, a direct reflection of the peculiar ambivalence of Western missionaries in China, caught between moral criticism against – and pragmatic complicity with – Western imperialism.

I begin with an examination of the debates surrounding Western knowledge at the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books from the late 1850s through the end of the 1860s. Next, I draw out the parallels between these Japanese debates and the editorial policies of those missionaries involved in textbook production, particularly at the American Presbyterian press in Ningbo. Missionary textbooks were not, I argue, a mere translation or transposition of Western knowledge into the Chinese language. They emerged instead from a desire to accommodate norms of Chinese learning, and insulate students from the precarious economy of China's treaty ports. These concerns possessed an unexpected affinity with domestic anxieties in Japan. The conjuncture between these two debates thus inspired Japanese authorities to actively promote and privilege the study of Chinese missionary textbooks over their European-language counterparts.

### **Chinese Learning in the *Fin-de-Tokugawa***

Our history begins with a curious erasure. The 1875 *Calendar* for the Kaisei Gakkō (開成学校), the immediate predecessor of Tokyo Imperial University, offers the first official Anglophone account of the modern Japanese university, and thus the first official Anglophone account of how Western knowledge came to be institutionalized within processes of modernization. In this account, the claim is put forth that “the

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*History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Rebekah Clements, *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).



institution out of which it [i.e., the Kaisei Gakkō] sprang...was called the Yogaku Sho (Institute of Western Knowledge)...opened for instruction in January 1857.”<sup>10</sup> The claim, however, is spurious. No such institution formally bearing the name Yōgakusho (洋学所) ever existed in Tokugawa Japan. Instead, the year 1857 marked the inauguration of another institution: the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books (蕃書調所). This, then, is our first clue that our received narrative of Western knowledge in Japan is not what it seems.

On the one hand, that official English records would wish to conceal this fact may appear trivial. After all, efforts to revise unequal treaties demanded proof of civilization, and ‘civilization’ was more often than not synonymous with Westernization. Every reason thus existed to deny that people in Japan once viewed European-language texts as “barbarian books.” Upon first glance, therefore, the error in naming may appear to be a matter of erasing Japan’s troublesome past of anti-Western attitudes.

On the other hand, this erasure points the way to a history far more vexed. The problem was not simply that the alleged “Institute of Western Knowledge” had in fact been named the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, but that the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books had been founded upon an explicit rejection of any such name as the “Institute of Western Knowledge.” In short, the slippage of names in the 1875 *Calendar* testifies to a fundamental misrecognition of the genealogy of the Japanese university and its relationship to Western knowledge. It exposes a curious sleight-of-hand whereby a Tokugawa institution was transformed into that which it was precisely never meant to be.

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<sup>10</sup> *The Calendar of the Tokio Kaisei-Gakkō, or Imperial University of Tokio. For the Year 1875* ([Tokyo]: the Director, 1875), p. 9.

Plans leading to the construction of the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books first surfaced in early 1854.<sup>11</sup> Though Perry's arrival some six months earlier constituted one major impetus, the immediate context of discussions was Russian Admiral Yevfimiy Putyatin's second visit to Nagasaki in January of that year. Tasked to head to Nagasaki as interpreter for these negotiations, the Western Learning scholar Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (1899-1863) impressed upon his companions – the bakufu officials Tsutsui Masanori 筒井政憲 (1778-1859), Kawaji Toshiakira 川路聖謨 (1801-68), Mukai Masanori 筒井政憲 (1778-1859), and Koga Kin'ichirō 古賀謹一郎 (1816-84) – the need to train more skilled translators for European languages. Mitsukuri himself had for decades served as a member of the Shogunal Translators of Barbarian Books (蛮書和解御用), a corps of Western Learning experts who had traditionally operated out of the shogunate's Astronomical Bureau (*tenmongata* 天文方) in Edo. Their numbers being few, however, Mitsukuri feared that this body could no longer satisfy the needs of intensified Western contact.<sup>12</sup>

At this early stage, no fixed name had yet been appended to what would later become the Institute. References in Mitsukuri's diary employ "Academy of Dutch Learning" (蘭学館).<sup>13</sup> As news of the shogunate's plans spread, much to the joy of Western Learning scholars, private letters also began to speak of a "Western School" (西洋学校), a "School of Dutch Learning" (蘭学校), as well as an "Institute of Dutch

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<sup>11</sup> Hereafter, for simplicity and clarity, I will refer to the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books as "the Institute."

<sup>12</sup> Mitsukuri Genpo, *Seisei kikō: Bakumatsu no Nichi-ro gaikō* 征西紀行——幕末の日露外交, ed. Kimura Iwaji (Tsuyama: Tsuyama Yōgaku Shiryōkan Tomo no kai, 1991), pp. 102-3.

<sup>13</sup> Mitsukuri Genpo, *Seisei kikō*, pp. 25, 39, 72, 102, 111, et al.

Learning” (蘭学所).<sup>14</sup> Yet over the course of official deliberations a debate emerged that would lead to the rejection of all these names. This debate centered on the question of how the study of Western knowledge should relate to “Chinese learning” (*kangaku* 漢学).

Two decades later, in the hands of scholars such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, the term “Chinese Learning” would take on a very specific ideological valence: “Chinese Learning” was the sum of knowledge antithetical to the progress represented by Western civilization. We inheritors of Meiji modernity have thus learned to forget that “Chinese Learning” was a word of relatively recent coinage, having come into currency only at the end of the eighteenth century. As a category, its original purpose was polemical, designed foremost to assert the existence of a tradition intellectually distinct from new Nativist (*kokugaku* 国学) and Western Learning (*yōgaku* 洋学) movements.<sup>15</sup> Even then, those thinkers most insistent in their polemics frequently wavered on the precise relation between Chinese, Nativist, and Dutch schools of thought. None other than Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817), the canonical founding father of Western Learning famed for his rejection of Sinocentrism, conceded before death that Chinese Learning may have been the true precondition for Western Learning’s growth.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Tsuboi Shinryō 坪井信良 to Sado Miyoshi 佐渡三良, Ansei 1.10.4 (1854); Ansei 2.9.4 (1855), in *Bakumatsu ishin fūun tsūshin: ran’i Tsuboi Shinryō kakei-ate shokan shū* 幕末維新風雲通信——蘭医坪井信良家兄宛書翰集, ed. Miyaji Masato 宮地政人 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku shuppan, 1978); Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟 to Ōkubo Ichio 大久保一翁, Ansei 3.4.6 (1856), in *Katsu Kaishū zenshū. Bekkan: Raikan to shiryō* 勝海舟全集 別巻：来簡と資料, ed. Katsu Kaishū Zenshū Kankōkai 勝海舟全集刊行会 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> See Kurozumi Makoto, “Tokugawa Confucianism and Its Meiji Japan Reconstruction,” in *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan, and Herman Ooms (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, 2002), p. 381 n. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Sugita Genpaku, *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始 (1815): 「今に於てこれを顧ふに、漢学は章を飾れる文ゆゑ、その開け遅く、蘭学は実事を辞書にそのまゝ記せしものゆゑ、取り受けはやく、開け早かりしか。また、実は漢学にて人の智見開けし後に出でたることゆゑ、かく速かなりしか、知るべからず」. On the rejection of Sinocentric civilization, see Sugita Genpaku, *Kyōi no gen* 狂医之言

Given these uncertainties, the actual substance of “Chinese Learning” remained vague. Any attempt to patrol boundaries was further compounded by the increasingly common practice of *yūgaku* (游学), a period of scholastic *Wanderjahre* that saw students roaming across the country to acquire expertise in multiple different fields of study. Coupled with the explosive growth of private academies in the nineteenth century, *yūgaku* rendered the boundaries between schools and doctrines exceptionally porous.<sup>17</sup> The most influential private academy of Chinese Learning, the Kangien (咸宜園), regularly fed students into Philipp Franz von Siebold’s (1796-1866) academy for Western Learning in Nagasaki.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, when Hirose Kyokusō 広瀬旭荘 (1807-63), younger brother of Kangien founder Hirose Tansō 広瀬淡窓 (1782-1856), traveled to Edo to establish his own Chinese Learning academy in Edo, he quickly found support from members of the Western Learning community, including Tsuboi Shindō 坪井信道 (1795-1846), Itō Genboku 伊東玄朴 (1800-71), Totsuka Seikai 戸塚静海 (1799-1876), Kawamoto Kōmin 川本幸民 (1810-71), and Hayashi Dōkai 林洞海 (1813-95).<sup>19</sup>

These overlapping and densely integrated scholarly networks conferred upon Chinese Learning a dynamic tendency toward syncretism. Membership in its community

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(1775): 「道なるものは、支那の聖人の立つるところにあらず、天地の道なり・・・何れの国か中土となさん。支那もまた東海一隅の小国なり」。

<sup>17</sup> On this integration, spurred in part by the practice of *yūgaku*, or a sort of *Wanderjahr* for scholars, see Richard Rubinger, *Private Academies of the Tokugawa Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), esp. Ch. 1, “Cultural Integration and Education – The *Yūgaku* System,” pp. 15-38.

<sup>18</sup> For example, students such as Oka Taian 岡泰安 (1796-1858) and Takano Chōei 高野長英 (1804-50).

<sup>19</sup> On Kyokusō’s relation to these figures, see the diary of his student, Udagawa Kōsai. Udagawa Kōsai, *Nikkan sajiroku* 日間鎖事録 (1845), transcribed in Endō Masaharu 遠藤正治, “Udagawa Kōsai no *Nikkan sajiroku* (Kōka ni-nen),” *Itteki* 一滴 8 (2000): pp. 24-64, esp. pp. 25-27. On his brother Tansō and the Kangien (which Kyokusō ran for several years during his brother’s illness in the 1830s), see Marleen Kassel, *Tokugawa Confucian Education: the Kangien Academy of Hirose Tansō (1782-1856)* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996).

was less a matter of maintaining any settled orthodoxy, and more a commitment to the heritage of classical Chinese texts as a shared idiom of literate expression – a cultural and linguistic framework for establishing meaning.<sup>20</sup> Again, the example of Kyokusō and his students is telling. Open in his admission that a turn toward Western knowledge was inevitable, Kyokusō actively collected European-language texts, and upon occasion used them in his lessons.<sup>21</sup> Yet when it came to explaining his stance, Kyokusō returned to Chinese cosmology. In notes recorded by his students dating the end of 1855, Kyokusō likened the coming of Western powers to the flow of *yōki*, or male vital energy (陽氣), which moved traditionally from north to south, and west to east. This principle had been expressed time and again as a motive force of history. The Zhou dynasty, in ancient times, moved their court from west to east; the Qin moved from Shanxi to Shandong. Later on, Mongols and Manchus would come from the north to found the Yuan and Qing. Kyokusō even hypothesized that Japan’s current woes were a long-deserved punishment for having upset this West-East directionality in the sixteenth century, permitting pirates to raid Ming towns and vessels, and staging its own assault upon Korea.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Kurozumi, “Tokugawa Confucianism,” pp. 381-82, suggests that *kangaku* scholars should not be thought of as “Confucian,” but rather as the “holders of a body of knowledge required to handle the general resources of kanji culture (*kanji bunka*).” Similarly, Janine Sawada has argued that the term “Confucian” in late Tokugawa Japan signified less a concrete doctrine, and more a “linguistic community” formed around shared “allusions and rhetorical patterns.” See Janine Tasca Sawada, *Practical Pursuits: Religion, Politics, and Personal Cultivation in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), p. 28.

<sup>21</sup> Or, more accurately, copied them. Kyokusō claimed to have copied over one hundred Western-language texts. See Kishida Tomoko 岸田知子, *Kangaku to Yōgaku: dentō to chishiki no hazama de* 漢学と洋学——伝統と知識のはざままで (Osaka: Ōsaka Daigaku shuppankai, 2010), p. 163. Udagawa Kōsai mentions, in his diary, reading a translation of a Dutch geography and a Dutch medical text while at Kyokusō’s academy. See Udagawa, *Nikkan sajiroku*, p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> Hirose Kyokusō, *Kyūkei sōdō zuihitsu* 九桂草堂隨筆 (1855-57), in *Hyakka zuihitsu* 百科隨筆, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1917), pp. 105-106: 「我邦・支那・天竺は東南にあり、魯西亜・西洋諸国は西北にあり、今は西より東を併せ、北より南を制するの勢あり、東より西を併せ、南より北を制するの勢は絶てなし、是如何なる故ぞや、曰く、陽気は子よりして而東而南にうつる、地球

Kyokusō's approach could be described as a strategy of discursive containment. Western knowledge – if not also the rise of the West itself – posed no danger to Chinese Learning, so long as it remained explicable within the parameters recognized by classical Chinese discourse. This containment had, for earlier generations, been inevitable; those who pursued Western Learning by necessity first underwent training in the Chinese classics, then the unanimous basis of intellectual literacy. Starting in the late 1840s, however, the possibility of containment had grown ever more uncertain. In the process, containment metamorphosed from natural practice to conscious policy.

As Kyokusō explained, the surge in Western Learning sparked by the spectacle of Qing defeat in the First Opium War had led to the emergence, by decade's end, of a new generation weaned upon Western texts as their primary, rather than secondary, intellectual diet. Faced with the rise of scholars “illiterate in Chinese, treating Western books as we would the Four Books and Six Classics,” Kyokusō demanded action from his peers. Chinese Learning had no cause to reject Western knowledge, but it did have a duty to ensure that this knowledge remained subordinate to the classical Chinese canon. Specifically, policies had to be enacted to guarantee that “Dutch books be read only after one had learned to interpret the Four Books and Six Classics.” Without such prior grounding, Kyokusō warned, “Who knows what chaos may in the future emerge among the people?”<sup>23</sup>

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の運航は常に西より東に向って飛ぶ、此天地の理なり・・・明の末、我亂民頻りに彼地を劫し、南倭北虜の二寇にて明疲弊せり、又文祿の役朝鮮を侵し、数万の人を殺せり、天地巡環の理を以てすれば、其報来らずとも云がたし」

<sup>23</sup> Hirose Kyokusō, *Kyūkei sōdō zuihitsu*, p. 110: 「今は洋夷と交通のこと起れり、然れば蘭学は必用の具なり、併し蘭学する者皆没字碑[卑?]にて、彼書を我六經四書同様に心得、僅に数巻を読めば、漢土の聖人は迂闊なる者なりとて、愚弄するに至る・・・故に蘭書は一通り六經四書を解し得たる上にて読ましむべし、然らざれば後世に到り、如何の亂民出るも測りがたし」

When, in 1856, the move to create a separate shogunal institute for Western Learning began in earnest, it threatened to destabilize such strategies of discursive containment. Intellectually, it threatened to legitimate Western knowledge as parallel, rather than subordinate, to Chinese Learning. Institutionally, it threatened to upset the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo (昌平坂学問所) from its hegemonic position as the shogunate's seat of higher learning.<sup>24</sup> Unsurprisingly, heated debate emerged among bakufu officials as to the proper course of action.

The core contention occurred over admissions policy. Emphasizing the immediate need for able translators and interpreters, Koga Kin'ichirō proposed that the Institute temporarily open its admissions to all talented applicants regardless of their age, prior education, and status. The radicality of Koga's suggestion met with fierce opposition from Kawaji Toshiakira, as well as Hayashi Fukusai 林復斎 (1801-59), headmaster of the Gakumonjo, and Mizuno Tadanori 水野忠徳 (1810-68), Commissioner of Finances. Focusing particularly on the problem of status, Mizuno and Kawaji rebutted first, countering, "In going so far as to treat status as mixed, we foresee a worry that [students] will often be infected by Western habits and manners."<sup>25</sup> Joined later that same month by Hayashi Fukusai 林復斎 (1801-59), the head of the Gakumonjo, the anti-Koga faction further insisted that applicants should face the requirement of being able to read and give an

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<sup>24</sup> On the Kansei Reforms as marking the creation of the first "national academy" in Japan, see Kiri Paramore, "The Nationalization of Confucianism: Academism, Examinations, and Bureaucratic Governance in the Late Tokugawa State," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 38:1 (2012): pp. 25-53.

<sup>25</sup> Bansho shirabesho tachiai goyō dome 蕃書調所立合御用留, 1.91. University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute. 身分迄をも打混取扱候様にてハ、往々西洋風習ニ流行候憂も相見候

exposition of at least one of the Four Books and Five Classics of the Confucian canon.<sup>26</sup> Finally, Hayashi took the opportunity to assert the continued authority of the Gakumonjo. According to his proposed interpretation, the shogunate was not in fact creating a school for Western Learning parallel to the Gakumonjo, but an apparatus to serve official needs. On these grounds, knowledge produced by the institute was really only one extension of Chinese Learning, and therefore subject to control under the Gakumonjo.<sup>27</sup>

It was this latter proposal by Hayashi that most directly informed the question of what to name the new institute. In a petition to the bakufu dated to the fall of 1856, Hayashi and his supporters insisted that any references to Dutch or Western Learning should be omitted from the official title of the new school, specifically citing the unwelcome popularity that “School of Dutch Learning” and “Institute of Western Learning” (洋学館) had gained among some supporters. Names such as these, they argued, might mislead observers into believing that the shogunate was conferring equal value on Chinese and Western Learning. Concluding, Hayashi proposed that if no more suitable name could be decided upon, perhaps they might consider calling it the *Shokukata-kan* (職方館).<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Bansho shirabesho tachiai goyō dome, l. 90. 「四書五經之内一經を弁、講釈等出来不申ものハ、蘭学修行ハ不被仰付」

<sup>27</sup> Bansho shirabesho tachiai goyō dome, l. 116. 「御用ニ御座候上ハ・・・矢張漢学へ属シ林家支配ニ被仰付候方相当ニ可有之奉存候」. On the Hayashi family's efforts to take control of the Shirabesho during the early 1860s, see Seki Yoshihisa 関儀久, “Hayashi-ke ni yoru Kaiseijo shihai nit suite no hito-kōsatsu 林家による開成所支配についての一考察,” *Kyūshū kyōiku gakkai kenkyū kiyō* 29 (2001): pp. 21-28.

<sup>28</sup> Hayashi daigaku no kami to Koga Kin'ichirō, Ansei 3.9, in *Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo*, vol. 13, ed. Shiryō hensanjo (Tokyo: Shiryō hensanjo, 1997), p. 62. 「一向ニ洋学之名義に不拘、御国ニて広く技芸器械其外、諸物研究致発明候学校之趣意を以、唱方等致勘弁可被申聞候事。但、職方館杯相唱候てハ、如何可有之哉、先ツ右様之名義ニて可然名唱取調候様可被致事」



In invoking of term *shokukata*, Hayashi was likely following Mizuno and Kawaji's lead.<sup>29</sup> Over the course of their discussion, Mizuno and Kawaji had recommended, "Insofar as its function is primarily to know the enemy, we find it appropriate that it should follow the precedent of the *Shokukata-shi* (職方氏) of the Zhou dynasty, and be placed under the supervision of the Hayashi household."<sup>30</sup> The reference pointed to a hypothetical bureaucratic post described in the *Rites of Zhou* (周禮), a Han-period attempt to document Zhou administrative structure. Rendered alternately in English as "Official of Maps and Tributes," "Overseer of Feudatories," and "Official in Charge of the Cardinal Directions," the *Shokukata-shi* – or, *Zhifang-shi*, in Chinese – was one of several offices that collaboratively administered tributary relations between the Zhou and its surrounding tribes and polities.<sup>31</sup>

Within this group, it was the specific duty of the *Zhifang-shi* to produce intelligence concerning foreign populations and their resources, including surveys of their agricultural products and livestock.<sup>32</sup> In referring back to the *Zhifang-shi*, and suggesting the name *Shokukata-kan*, the faction consisting of Hayashi, Mizuno, and Kawaji were indicating that the Institute was to function as a bureaucratic agency in service of Japan's foreign relations. It was, in their eyes, certainly no "Institute of Western Knowledge."

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<sup>29</sup> The main discussion of the naming of the Shirabesho in Japanese scholarship fails to make note of this connection. See Kurasawa Tsuyoshi, *Bakumatsu kyōiku-shi no kenkyū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), pp. 91-92.

<sup>30</sup> *Bansho shirabesho tachiai goyōdome*, 1.116. 「専ら敵情を知り候為之御用ニ御座候上は周代の職方氏有之候廉ニ随ひ矢張漢学へ属し林家支配ニ被仰付候方相当ニ可有之奉存候」

<sup>31</sup> see *Jiaosong Zhou li Zheng zhu* 周禮鄭注, 33.6a-9a.

<sup>32</sup> Cordell D.K. Yee, "Chinese Maps in Political Culture," in *The History of Cartography, Volume Two, Book Two: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 75.

Ultimately, these conflicts over admissions, naming, and institutional configuration ended in a compromise. When a call for applicants was made in the twelfth month 1856, samurai status was made requisite, but formal training in the Confucian classics was not.<sup>33</sup> Koga Kin'ichirō was appointed co-headmaster along with Hayashi Fukusai.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the only definite victory for the Hayashi faction, then, came in the naming. In settling upon “Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books,” the bakufu acknowledged that Western knowledge was to be apprehended within a discourse of Chinese Learning.

### **Institute Textbooks and Chinese Missionary Print**

The question of how to maintain rigorous standards of Chinese Learning as a prerequisite for the study of Western texts thus remained. With admissions standards lowered, how could one limit the influence of Western books while simultaneously studying Western knowledge? The solution finally settled upon, I claim, was to encourage students against reading these books at all. Or, to be exact, the solution was to encourage students to read these books only indirectly, through the mediation of a more familiar and ideologically acceptable form: texts on Western knowledge written in classical Chinese.

These texts were, above all, the product of missionary print. As touched upon in the previous chapter, the opening of Chinese ports to foreign residence gave rise to a surge of missionary print in both classical and vernacular Chinese. Ranging from introductory manuals of natural science, geography, and history, to popular miscellanies,

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<sup>33</sup> Ansei 3.12.3 [1856] in *Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo* 幕末外国関係文書; to be sure, it appears that many students at the Institute also simultaneously enrolled in the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo. See 故目賀田男爵伝記編纂会 編『男爵目田種太郎』(Tokyo: Ko Megata Danshaku Denki henshūkai, 1938), p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> The titles were, respectively, 蛮学頭取, and 漢学頭取. See Oda Matazō, 小田又蔵, “Bansho hon'yaku goyō ni kansuru shorui (蕃書翻訳御用に関する書類),” *Edo* 江戸 31 (1918): pp. 73–88.

magazines and newspapers, the output these missionary presses only increased in importance for Japan after 1858, as shipping lines and merchant capital would increasingly bind Shanghai to Nagasaki and Yokohama.<sup>35</sup>

The impact of missionary print has long been a central topic for both histories of science and histories of the book in China.<sup>36</sup> In contrast, studies of Chinese missionary print in Japan remain highly unsystematic, scattered across the history of religion, the history of science, and Sino-Japanese cultural history. The lack of any focused inquiry in English is particularly troubling.<sup>37</sup>

Both these traditions tend to ignore the educational policy of missionaries and the context for their decisions to start printing. They tend to naturalize the impulse of print as obvious – evangelical activity presumes print, and there is little more to say about it.

It is true that the book has always occupied a deep relation to evangelical print

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<sup>35</sup> On the centrality of Shanghai, especially, to Japan's modernization, see Ryū Kenki, *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no 'kindai' taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000).

<sup>36</sup> From the perspective of print histories, see Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2004), pp. 26-87; Xiantao Zhang, *The Origins of the Modern Chinese Press: The Influence of the Protestant Missionary Press in Late Qing China* (New York: Routledge, 2007); David Wright, "The Translation of Western Science in Nineteenth-Century China, 1840-1895," *Isis* 89, no. 4 (Dec., 1998): pp. 653-73; and also Wright, *Translating Science*. The first and classic overview, despite errors, remains Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese; giving a list of their publications* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), which attempts to list Chinese-language publications for every missionary included.

<sup>37</sup> The principal work for the Tokugawa period as a whole is Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, *Edo jidai ni okeru tōsen mochiwatari-sho no kenkyū* 江戸時代における唐船持渡書の研究 (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Tōzai kenkyūjo, 1967), and Masuda Wataru, *Seigaku tōzen to Chūgoku jijō: "zasshi" Raiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1979). Within the history of science, and specifically focusing on Protestant print, the most prolific living researcher is Yatsumimi Toshifumi 八耳俊文. See Yatsumimi Toshifumi, "Yōgaku to kangaku: zaika eibeijin no kanbunsho o megutte 洋学と漢学——在華英米仁の漢文書をめぐって," *Kagakushi kenkyū* 28 (2001), pp. 25-37; and for a provisional catalog of titles, Yatsumimi, "Shin-makki seijin choyaku kagaku kankei Chūgoku-sho oyobi wakokubon shozai mokuroku 清末期西人著訳科学関係中国書及び和刻本所在目録," *Kagakushi kenkyū* 22 (1995): pp. 312-58. The only recent Anglophone work to treat this phenomenon in some detail is Rebekah Clements, *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

But it is true also that 19<sup>th</sup>-century missionary activity was plural, diverse motives, and that the role to be played by print was contested, was not obvious or self-evident, and varied geographically and temporally in its meanings, often facing strong opposition due to the investment startup costs (Johnston, Hofmeyr)

Especially the case to understand that “print” itself may be a misleading label that fails to acknowledge the categorical distinctions made by missionary actors between different types of press output. Reports on the press themselves tend to group publications between job-work for other societies or independent parties, both Western and Chinese; religious tracts and publications; and finally “secular” works. Textbooks fell under this final category of the “secular” work, and we must thus understand specifically their meaning and the ways in which they were deliberately differentiated in design, editorial policy, and intended goal from other forms of missionary publication.

Against this lacuna, it is thus vital to stress that Chinese missionary texts had gained steady popularity in Japan since at least the late 1840s as a privileged source of knowledge about the West. By the time of Perry’s first arrival in 1853, several English geography textbooks in Chinese translation had already furnished Japanese authorities with a familiarity of U.S. history that astonished their foreign interlocutors. As Perry’s secretary, John S. Sewall (1830-1911), noted,

We found them so well informed. They questioned us about the Mexican war, then recent; about General Taylor, and Santa Ana... Our colloquies were carried on in Dutch through our Dutch interpreter, Mr. Portman... We naturally supposed, therefore, that all their information had come through the Dutch... But we afterwards found that the Japanese printers were in the habit of republishing the text-books prepared by our missionaries in China for use in their schools. The knowledge of America which we found thus diffused in Japan had come straight from Dr. Bridgman's History of the

United States, a manual written and published in China,  
which had also had, what the good Doctor never dreamed of,  
a wide circulation in the realm of the Mikado.<sup>38</sup>

The initial motor for the popularity of missionary print in Chinese was arguably more economic than linguistic. Increased demand for European-language texts had been driving the price of originals into a prohibitively expensive realm. The scholar of Dutch medicine, Tsuboi Shinryō 坪井信良 (1823-1904), lamented in the spring of 1849, “The price of Dutch books has gotten up to twenty or thirty *ryō* – at highest, fifty *ryō* – per individual volume...and is so expensive such that I can’t even afford to buy but two or three books per year.”<sup>39</sup> The highest figure given here by Tsuboi – fifty *ryō* – was approximately the same amount it cost him to have five hundred copies of his four-volume work on internal medicine printed with woodblock by an Edo publisher approximately five years later.<sup>40</sup> The economic situation grew so dire that scholars began calling for government intervention in the book import market. Remarking upon the lack of affordable European-language books in 1855, Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間象山 (1811-64) opined, “Why does the shogunate not collect all [Western] books, and then spread them across the land?”<sup>41</sup>

Shōzan’s question was in part rhetorical. In the same letter, he conceded that opposition from an entrenched Chinese Learning community would likely block any

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<sup>38</sup> John S. Sewall, *The Logbook of the Captain's Clerk: Adventures in the China Seas* (Bangor, Me.: [s.n.], 1905), pp. 151-52. The book in question was probably Bridgman’s *Condensed History of the United States of America* (美理哥合省國志略), first published in 1838.

<sup>39</sup> Tsuboi Shinryō to Sado Miyoshi, Kaei 2.4 [1849], *Bakumatsu ishin fūun tsūshin*.

<sup>40</sup> Tsuboi Shinryō to Sado Miyoshi, Ansei 1.4.27 [1854], *Bakumatsu ishin fūun tsūshin*.

<sup>41</sup> Sakuma Shōzan to Katsu Kaishū, Ansei 2.8.15 [1855], in *Katsu Kaishū zenshū. Bekkan. Raikan to shiryō*, ed. Katsu Kaishū zenshū kankō-kai (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1994), p. 50-51. 「公辺には何故洋籍沢山御取寄せ海内に普く成り候様不被成候義や」

shogunal initiative to make Western books economically accessible.<sup>42</sup> And, as we have seen, the need to regulate Western knowledge through subordination to Chinese learning was a constant factor in the creation of the Institute. Herein lay the second appeal of Chinese-language texts on European knowledge. It was not that they were easier to read than their European-language originals. It was, rather, that they were *restrictive of access*, limiting knowledge only to those who had a proper prior training in classical Chinese. In the words of Ōkubo Ichio 大久保一翁 (1817-88), one of the early heads of the Institute, Western texts in Chinese translation were “in fact quite difficult to read, unless one was a scholar both of vertical [Chinese] and horizontal [Western] letters.”<sup>43</sup>

Ōkubo’s sentiment was not unfounded, for it reflected a much-overlooked conjuncture between Japanese policies of discursive containment and the attitudes of Western missionaries in China toward textbook production. The case of the American Presbyterian Society serves as an emblematic example. After the Society relocated its China mission from Macao to the new treaty port of Ningbo in the summer of 1845, one of its first tasks was the establishment of a boarding school for Chinese boys.<sup>44</sup> Obtaining and preparing physical facilities proved the easiest, with premises ready only about a month following their arrival. Despite this, the school’s new principal, Richard Quarterman Way (1819-95), confessed to Presbyterian authorities back in the U.S. that

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<sup>42</sup> Sakuma Shōzan to Katsu Kaishū, Ansei 2.8.15 [1855], p. 51. 「今に儒者衆邪魔致され候事歟」. A similar recommendation is attributed to Matsudaira Naritami 松平斎民 (1814-91), daimyo of Tsuyama domain: 「蘭書の価を減じ天下に公布するの策」. See Mitsukuri Genpo, *Seisei kikō*, op. cit., pp. 293-94.

<sup>43</sup> Ōkubo Ichio to Katsu Kaishū, Keiō 1.10.19 [1865], in *Katsu Kaishū zenshū. Bekkan. Raikan to shiryō*, ed. Katsu Kaishū zenshū kankō-kai (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1994), p. 24. 「豎横兼学に無之ては、実は六ヶ敷書と存候」

<sup>44</sup> Divie Bethune McCartee to Walter Lowrie, Ningpo, 2 July 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2 No. 97.

actual teaching had yet to commence. The missionaries, it seemed, had “not altogether determined upon the system of instruction to be adopted.”<sup>45</sup> In particular, they found themselves locked in a “debate as to the expediency of teaching boys English.”<sup>46</sup>

Educating natives through English rather than local languages had been a common feature across several different geographic fields of mission activity. Textbooks played a key role in this controversy. As an early report back to the Board of Foreign Missions in New York explained, “The argument in favor [of English] amounts substantially to this – we have few books written in Chinese treating of Geography, History, or the Natural Sciences.”<sup>47</sup> This “lack of good books for Elementary instruction” in Chinese was depicted as the near inverse of the “multiplicity of books (and good books too)” available in English.<sup>48</sup> Structuring a curriculum around English was therefore not so much a claim about the inherent value of the language, so much as the relative value of pedagogical print; English was necessary “to enable [Chinese students] to easily master the textbooks used in schools in the United States.”<sup>49</sup> During the Ningbo station’s early months, mission members such as Augustus Ward Loomis (1803-97) wrote the Board of Foreign Missions at home to beg for shipments of textbooks in English *en masse*.

“Procure + send to me school books such as Arithmetic – Geography – Nat. Philosophy –

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<sup>45</sup> R.Q. Way to Walter Lowrie, Ningpo, 31 July 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 327.

<sup>46</sup> Divie Bethune McCartee to Walter Lowrie, Ningpo, 2 July 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2 No. 97.

<sup>47</sup> Divie Bethune McCartee to Walter Lowrie, Ningpo, 2 July 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2 No. 97.

<sup>48</sup> *Committee appointed to consider the propriety of introducing native Chinese works into our schools, and also to recommend such books as may be deemed suitable* (Oct. 1845). Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 125.

<sup>49</sup> Divie Bethune McCartee to Walter Lowrie, Ningpo, 2 July 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2 No. 97.

Chemistry – Geometry... works on Natural History (illustrated) – Physiology (illustrated)... + any other books that may help one who is a teacher of children,” Loomis enthusiastically implored. He concluded his entreaty with a lament: “I was so foolish to leave behind many of my school books!”<sup>50</sup>

In contrast, those less eager to impose an English-language curriculum underlined the unique circumstances of the Chinese mission, particularly the prevalence of unscrupulous traders – especially opium traders – in Chinese port towns such as Ningbo. The lingua franca of this trade was English. Both Way and his assistant principal, D.B. McCartee (1820-1900), argued that any fluency fostered by the use of English and English texts “would expose the Chinese lad to tempting offers from foreign merchants engaged in the Opium trade, or perhaps from the Chinese themselves engaged in illegal traffic with foreigners.” In this sense, an English education “might prove more of a curse than a blessing.”<sup>51</sup>

The new school grounds languished in disuse for over three months before both sides resolved their differences at the end of October 1845, when two joint reports submitted to the Board of Foreign Missions in New York addressed, respectively, the status of English and the status of canonical Chinese classics within the school curriculum. The first of these began with a comparison of India versus China.<sup>52</sup> India had

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<sup>50</sup> A.W. Loomis to Walter Lowrie, Ningpo, 7 Nov. 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence, PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 121. Loomis specified only one of these by author and title: Jeremiah Day’s *Mathematical Principles of Navigation and Surveying* (New Haven, 1817).

<sup>51</sup> Divie Bethune McCartee to Walter Lowrie, Ningpo, 2 July 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2 No. 97; R.Q. Way to Walter Lowrie, Ningpo, 31 July 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 327.

<sup>52</sup> The design of policies through cross-referencing and contradistinction between different missionary societies and geographical fields of activity has been stressed by Anna Johnston, who argues that missionary activity is an irreducible plurality. “Colonial missionary activities do not constitute a singular evangelical project as opposed to other colonial projects, but *different kinds* of evangelical, colonial



thus far proven the most fruitful field for attempts at missionary education in English. The Ningbo missionaries were skeptical, however, that successes in India would easily translate into similar results for the Chinese field of activity. Company rule in India had made English a “necessary qualification” for natives who hoped to obtain important posts. Even if missionaries there held reservations about English, the growing number of government and native schools catering to this “desire to acquire the language of their rulers” meant that missionaries were “forced to teach English in order to compete.”<sup>53</sup>

Neither of these conditions obtained for China. Despite increased American and British presence, the Ningbo missionaries deemed it unlikely that English would ever obtain the same cultural and intellectual prestige as Chinese itself. Ultimately, this militated in favor of McCartee’s anxiety over the opium trade. Unable to find recognition for their linguistic talents in Chinese society, students skilled in English would instead find company among the disreputable foreign traders who had flooded China’s treaty ports. An English education would “enable the opium merchants to carry on their nefarious traffic with the greater advantage” and “thro[w] young men in the way of temptations which must almost certainly result in the shipwreck of their souls.” “This consideration,” the missionaries admitted, “weighs more heavily upon the mind of your committee than any other which has been presented.” China’s particular political economy of opium thus pushed the Ningbo mission to resolve against English instruction,

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projects in each location they occurred.” Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 31.

<sup>53</sup> *Report of the Committee in English Instruction* (Oct., 1845), Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 127.

with the proviso that should certain exceptional students emerge, special language classes might be formed for their advantage.<sup>54</sup>

With Chinese now fixed as the language of education, the mission turned to a second problem: what books to use in their schools. In particular, concerns crystallized around the question of whether to “expell [sic] altogether from our catalogue of school books, such [books] as all Chinese scholars study” or whether to “devote a large proportion of time to their study.” The books under consideration were, specifically, those of the “Sz’Shoo” (四書; C: *sishu*) – the Four Books that comprised the classic Neo-Confucian canon. According to several missionary critics, these works were unfit for the classroom on account of their “heathen” content, and their lack of “practicable” knowledge.<sup>55</sup>

The Ningbo missionaries rejected these arguments. Though Confucianism could be construed as a heathen religion, the primary function of the Four Books, they rebutted, was for fostering literacy in the classical Chinese language. Furthermore, against charges that the Four Books contained no practical and useful knowledge, the Ningbo missionaries replied that classical literacy was the basis for the very practicable tool of rhetorical efficacy. “Among a people by whom learning is respected,” the report maintained, “the influence of an individual will depend to a considerable degree upon the sage maxims of Confucius and Mencius, which he may be able to quote.”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Report of the Committee in English Instruction* (Oct., 1845), Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 127.

<sup>55</sup> *Committee appointed to consider the propriety of introducing native Chinese works into our schools, and also to recommend such books as may be deemed suitable* (Oct. 1845). Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 125.

<sup>56</sup> *Committee appointed to consider the propriety of introducing native Chinese works into our schools, and also to recommend such books as may be deemed suitable* (Oct. 1845). Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 125.

Eliminating the Confucian classics from the curriculum therefore made little sense. This was especially the case given that enrollment at the Ningbo school was predicated upon willing parents who, for the most part, “desire[d] that their children should be instructed in the literature of their own country.” But above all, the Ningbo missionaries argued that “in establishing schools in heathen countries, for the education of heathen boys,” one should prioritize their future role in Chinese society, rather than forcing upon them “the same acquirements that are required of a boy in England or America.” “It is with education,” the report remarked, “as it is with clothes.... [T]he fashion of the garment that will suit for the west will be entirely out of place in China.”<sup>57</sup>

Adapting their curriculum in a way that would make students “most acceptable and useful to their countrymen” was thus a key concern for missionaries – one just as, if not often more important than, conversion to Christianity. “They must read their own books in order to become good and acceptable Chinese scholars,” concluded the Ningbo report. To this end, it was necessary that the curriculum encompass both the “Sz’Shoo,” and also works of geography, arithmetic, and natural science composed according to the language and principles of “a good Chinese education.” These books were as of yet lacking. It fell upon missionaries, then, to at once prepare them, so that “the want of text books...will not be suffered to continue long.”<sup>58</sup> Two years later, reflecting back, the policy was declared a success. In their third report to the Board of Foreign Missions, the Ningpo station happily declared, “Another year of experience has but given strength to

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<sup>57</sup> *Committee appointed to consider the propriety of introducing native Chinese works into our schools, and also to recommend such books as may be deemed suitable* (Oct. 1845). Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 125.

<sup>58</sup> *Report of the Committee in English Instruction* (Oct., 1845), Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 127; *Committee appointed to consider the propriety of introducing native Chinese works into our schools, and also to recommend such books as may be deemed suitable* (Oct. 1845). Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 125.

the conviction which led us to exclude the English language from the list of regular studies. We convinced that there are not only no insurmountable obstacles in the way of the continuance of this system, but that many advantages will be secured by it which would otherwise be lost.”<sup>59</sup>

Missionary policies and Japanese fears therefore merged in an inadvertent but closely overlapping conjuncture. Rather than simply translating and transposing Western knowledge into Chinese, missionary textbooks reflected a very specific attempt to integrate Western pedagogical materials into traditional understandings of Chinese education, in the process shielding students from involvement with foreign traders. Japanese authorities shared an analogous set of concerns. They, too, hoped to contain Japanese readers from exposure to unwanted foreign elements, and establish literacy in the classical Confucian canon as a prerequisite to the study of the West.

Conditions were therefore ripe for the reception of Chinese missionary textbooks in Japan. Upon their arrival, however, it was noticed that Chinese missionary textbooks possessed another welcome resonance: classical Chinese literacy had strong associations with status. Missionary visitors to Japan such as William Muirhead of the LMS Shanghai mission were struck by “the superior class of people who c[ame] to [missionaries] for inquiry,” something which stood “very much in contrast with China.”<sup>60</sup> The importance of this distinction was best articulated by Guido Verbeck, who recommended to fellow missionaries that “as a means of coming in contact with people of intellectual + consequently social standing, and from all parts of the empire, the sale of scientific works

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<sup>59</sup> *Third Annual Report of the Ningpo Mission* (Oct., 1847), Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence, PCUSA, Vol. 2, No. 167.

<sup>60</sup> Guido F. Verbeck to Ferris. Nagasaki, 19 Oct. 1867 (Gardner A. Sage Library, 743/1/1).

is excellent.”<sup>61</sup> Specifically, Verbeck had in mind “the better ‘two-sworded’ classes,” i.e. the bureaucratic samurai elite.<sup>62</sup> As a consequence, missionary strategy in Japan would have to differ from typical print distribution efforts. Whereas “in the early Church the Gospel was first preached + offered to the poor,” Verbeck noted, efforts in Japan at the distribution of Chinese print would have to “begin with the higher classes.”<sup>63</sup> On top of classical Chinese learning, missionary textbooks also bore affinities to entrenched status distinctions.

Chinese-language missionary texts were thus a solution for multiple problems faced by the shogunate. First, they were cheap alternatives to imported Western books. Second, they were composed under a policy that sought to separate Chinese from Western styles of education, and contain Chinese students from interaction with unwelcome aspects of Western presence in Asia, such as the opium trade. Finally, they utilized a language that required a background in Chinese Learning, thereby perpetuating the authority of the samurai status elite.<sup>64</sup> This matrix of economic accessibility, combined with cultural-linguistic inaccessibility, proved an extremely compelling match, catering to the Japanese desire to subordinate Western knowledge to Chinese Learning, and prevent students from straying into forms of intellectual heterodoxy.

It was not long before the shogunate perceived this coincidence of interests, and actively sought to reprint Chinese translations of European-language texts for its own

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<sup>61</sup> Verbeck to Ferris. Nagasaki, 12 Sept. 1861. (Gardner A. Sage Library, 743/1/1).

<sup>62</sup> Guido F. Verbeck, Nagasaki Branch of the Japan Mission, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1860 (Gardner A. Sage Library, 743/1/1).

<sup>63</sup> Guido F. Verbeck, Nagasaki Branch of the Japan Mission, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1860 (Gardner A. Sage Library, 743/1/1).

<sup>64</sup> The samurai monopoly on classical Chinese education was, admittedly, under heavy contestation at the time. See esp. Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudō Merchant Academy of Osaka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

purposes. Though the exact dating is unclear, the initiative appears to have begun some time during late 1856 or 1857. Records show, in the third month of 1856, a certain Yorozya Heishirō 万屋兵四郎 (1817-1914) placed in the employ of the Institute as a general purveyor (小買物其外用達).<sup>65</sup> Yorozya is described as a successful Edo merchant – he owned three storefronts at the time – specializing in firewood and coal. No mention is made either of books, or of printing.

Yet, in 1858, we find the same Yorozya Heishirō appearing as publisher of an annotated edition of Benjamin Hobson's (1816-73) introductory medical textbook, the *Xiyi lüelun* (西醫略論). The turnover was rapid – Hobson's work had only been published in Shanghai a year earlier, in 1857. Following this, in 1859, Yorozya published another medical textbook by Hobson, the *Neike xinshuo* (内科新説), again with the same quick turnover.<sup>66</sup> Both these books are adorned only with the simplest of colophons – they name Yorozya as publisher and give his Edo address.<sup>67</sup>

Hobson's two textbooks were the vanguard for a wave to come. Entering into the 1860s, Yorozya published at a rate of over three new titles a year. Within these titles were also serials whose contents ranged over twenty volumes. More importantly, we find in the publisher's catalogues accompanying these works, starting with the 1860 edition of

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<sup>65</sup> For the record of the deliberation concerning Yorozya's appointment, see *Bansho Shirabesho tachiai goyōdome*, ll. 55a-58b. University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute.

<sup>66</sup> *Neike xinshuo* was published in Shanghai in 1858. See Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries*.

<sup>67</sup> Colophon from Benjamin Hobson 合信, *Naika shinsetsu*, vol. 2 (Edo: Yorozya Heishirō, 1859).

Richard Quarterman Way's *Diqiu shuolüe* (地球説略), the statement that Yorozuya specialized in *kanpan* (官板).<sup>68</sup>

Often translated as “official printing,” *kanpan* served a dual – and at times seemingly paradoxical – purpose as a means for the shogunate both to control the content of appointed texts, and to promote the public dissemination of knowledge. Shogunal involvement in printing had begun in earnest during the 1720s under the Kyōhō Reforms of Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751), but the Kansei Reforms specifically limited the term *kanpan* to those texts edited by, and created for instructional use at, the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo. According to original plans, *kanpan* were to forge a communications circuit between government and private sectors, linking them together in collaborative publishing enterprises. Scholars at the Gakumonjo would compile an official edition of a given text, have it carved on woodblock, and then print a limited run of copies for students on the Gakumonjo's in-house press. After the Gakumonjo's needs had been met, these same woodblocks would be licensed for a fee to commercial publishers who could then print and sell these *kanpan* on the larger market for their own profit.<sup>69</sup> *Kanpan* thus occupied a middle point between censored books, whose publication was wholly banned, and books produced on the open market. They

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<sup>68</sup> See colophon to R.Q. Way 偉理哲, *Chikyū setsuryaku*, ed. Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (Edo: Yorozuya Heishirō, 1860).

<sup>69</sup> For a catalogue of Tokugawa *kanpan* and an overview of their history, see Fukui Tamotsu 福井保, *Edo bakufu kankōbutsu* (Tokyo: Yūshōdō shuppan, 1985), pp. 3-4. The practice of licensing woodblocks out to private publishers was known as *taku-sage* (宅下), and the woodblocks, once licensed out, were referred to internally as *tamawari-han* (賜板).

represented those works whose controlled content the Gakumonjo wished to see circulate far and wide through channels of commercial publishing.<sup>70</sup>

It would appear, however, that this mechanism of government and commercial collaboration eventually failed to live up to the Gakumonjo's hopes. In 1842, Hayashi Teiu 林檉宇 (1793-1847), then head of the Gakumonjo, entreated the shogunate's *rōjū* officials to allow him to appoint a designated publisher for the printing and distribution of *kanpan* on the commercial market. The situation, as Hayashi explained it, was as follows: although, in the early days of Gakumonjo *kanpan*, commercial publishers had demonstrated relative eagerness to apply for licensing permission, this interest had gradually waned, until it was now nonexistent. Not only were the Gakumonjo's old stock of woodblocks sitting unused, growing warped by humidity (自然濕入ニ相成), but new *kanpan* were not seeing the light of the open market. Such a state of affairs defeated the purpose of the *kanpan* system, which had been intended, in Teiu's words, "to spread the civilizing influence of letters across the entirety of society" (文学之教化世上ニ遍く相及候為). The Gakumonjo had tried to remedy this by approaching several commercial publishers and asking them to print *kanpan*. These approaches were all met with refusal; the profits to be had from *kanpan* were not worth the hassle of licensing. Teiu thus asked for – and was granted – permission to force the duty of printing and circulating *kanpan*

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<sup>70</sup> This latter point – that the Gakumonjo wished to see these works circulate profusely – is important. The Kansei Reforms also put in place formal procedures for the pre- and post-publication censorship of books. Publishers had been known, upon occasion, to use the terms *kankyo* (官許), "government-approved," and *go-men* (御免), "by government permission," on the covers of their works, hoping that these would confer an air of legitimacy. The Gakumonjo condemned this practice, indicating a desire to distinguish categorically between books that had simply been approved for circulation, versus books that they wished to see circulate widely. See 天保十四年十月「書物類学問所改済之品以来官許又者御免等方記候儀可為無用旨」, in in *Shichū torishimari ruishū. Seihen* 市中取締類集・正編.



onto a commercial publisher, so as to guarantee the continued presence of these works for public consumption.<sup>71</sup>

Yorozuya Heishirō would appear to have been assigned precisely such a role. Though at first only a general supplier to the Institute, his publishing activities on the side made him a candidate for ensuring the general circulation of *kanpan* – this time not for the Gakumonjo, but for the Institute. After 1862, Yorozyua’s catalogues greeted readers with the following message: “Gentlemen from all the lands are urged to come examine [our] *kanpan*, published every month.”<sup>72</sup> By 1865, Yorozyua had published fourteen different *kanpan* titles, including the whole run of the *Liuhe congpan* (六合叢談), a periodical from the London Missionary Society’s Shanghai press that ran from 1857-58, and the *Zhongwai xinbao* (中外新報), an American Presbyterian newspaper from Ningbo issued during 1858.<sup>73</sup> Upon occasion, Yorozyua himself exercised relative agency in selecting works to be printed as *kanpan*, scouring Chinese newspapers for announcements of new publications, and reporting to bakufu authorities those he recommended for reprinting.<sup>74</sup> Yorozyua’s catalog indicates to us that it was predominantly Chinese-language introductions to Western knowledge that were being

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<sup>71</sup> 天保十三寅年九月「学問所官板御書物師方江宅下ケ摺立売捌板木代上納致し候儀ニ付調」, in *Shichū torishimari ruishū. Seihen* 市中取締類集・正編.

<sup>72</sup> 「開成所 官板御書籍類月々刊行希四方諸君子多披閱」 See the colophon to *Zhongwai zazhi* 中外雜誌, vol. 7 (Edo: Yorozyua Heishirō, 1862). The original was printed at the London Missionary Society’s Shanghai.

<sup>73</sup> Masuda, *Seigaku tōzen*, p. 13, makes mention of Yorozyua’s publications in the context of news circulation, but fails to note that Yorozyua was in the official employ of the Shirabesho, treating him instead as a commercial printer.

<sup>74</sup> Takahara Izumi 高橋泉, “Kaiseijo-han *Bankoku kōhō* no kankō: Yorozyua Heishirō to Katsu Kaishū o megutte 開成所版『万国公法』の刊行——万屋兵四郎と勝海舟をめぐる,” *Chūō Daigaku daigakuin kenkyū nenpō* 中央大学大学院研究年報 29 (1999): pp. 299-309.

used to instruct Institute students, and that, furthermore, the bakufu actively promoted the widespread circulation of these works alongside those of the Gakumonjo.<sup>75</sup>

The responsibility of editing and annotating *kanpan* editions of Chinese missionary texts fell, as one might expect, upon instructors at the Institute. A significant portion of this labor consisted of eliminating references to Christianity placed in these texts by missionaries. Indeed, the production of *kanpan* worked in tandem with shogunal mechanisms of pre-publication censorship. In at least one case – that of William Muirhead’s *Da yingguo zhi* (大英国志), or *History of England* – we observe that a commercial publisher first submitted a request for publication in 1859, only to have be rejected on the grounds that the work contained Christian content. Following this, two assistant instructors at the Institute, Yamagata Hanzō 山縣半蔵 (1829-1901) and Tezuka Ritsuzō 手塚律蔵 (1822-78), took up the publisher’s rejected manuscript, and further edited it themselves for publication as a *kanpan*, which appeared two years later in 1861.<sup>76</sup>

More nuanced insight on the intricacies of the editing process and reading strategies of Japanese scholars may be gleaned from a single volume among Mitsukuri Genpo’s journals, dated to 1859 and bearing the title *Commentary on the Diqu shuolüe* (地球説畧疏証).<sup>77</sup> As its title suggests, Mitsukuri’s journal consists of notes on Richard

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<sup>75</sup> A complete bibliography of Yorozyu’s publications can be found in Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, “Shuppankai no isai Yorozyu Heishirō” 出版界の異彩万屋兵四郎, in *Nihon shoshigaku taikei*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten), pp. 187-99.

<sup>76</sup> *Kaihan miaratame genchō* 開版見改元帳, in *Nihon Kagakushi Gakkai* 日本科学史学会, ed., *Nihon kagaku gijutsu-shi taikei* 日本科学技術史大系, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1964), pp. 61-66.

<sup>77</sup> *Chikyū setsuryaku soshō* 地球説畧疏証, No. 20, Mitsukuri Genpo/Rinshō kankei monjo 箕作阮甫・麟祥関係文書, Kensei shiryōshitsu, NDL. All citations that follow to this work refer the reel and image number on the Kensei microfilms, e.g. 1:42 is “Reel 1, Image 42.”

Quarterman Way's introductory geography textbook, the *Diqiu shuolüe*, or *Compendium of Geography*.<sup>78</sup> These notes ostensibly served as the basis for the 1860 *kanpan* edition of the *Diqiu*, published by Yorozyua and edited by Mitsukuri himself.

Printed at Ningbo in 1856 on the American Presbyterian Mission's press, Way's textbook was the direct product of those controversies regarding English and Chinese education described earlier. As readers may recall, Way had served as the first headmaster of the mission school at Ningbo.<sup>79</sup> During his tenure there, he had already commissioned an ur-version of the *Diqiu*; school reports for 1847 indicate the limited printing (200 copies) of "An Elementary work on Geography" prepared in Chinese for the school.<sup>80</sup> This stress upon classroom pedagogy seems to have persisted as his foremost concern in the 1856 edition. Way, in his preface, specified two goals he hoped his book might achieve: first, that it might "enable the students at his humble academy to broaden their knowledge," and second, that "learned Chinese scholars might pick up the book and read it."<sup>81</sup>

Japanese readers such as Mitsukuri were neither. Instead, Mitsukuri's reading comprised an extended philological labor that juxtaposed Chinese, Dutch, and English sources against one another. The inside of the journal's front cover consists of a list of Chinese characters representing the Sinicized names of major missionary writers whose

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<sup>78</sup> This was the English title assigned to it in Presbyterian mission press catalogs. See *Catalogue of the Books Printed at the Ningpo Mission Press, and for Sale at the Depository of the Presbyterian Mission Shanghai*. G/C58.9/P92, William Gamble Collection, Library of Congress.

<sup>79</sup> Divie Bethune McCartee to Walter Lowrie, 2 July 1845. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 2 No. 97.

<sup>80</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the Ningpo Mission from October 1846 to Oct. 1847*. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 3 No. 48.

<sup>81</sup> 「今は書成、一則俾館中衆學者、得擴其見聞、二則還望博學之儒、同為披覽云」. R.Q. Way, 偉理哲, *Diqiu shuolüe* 地球說略 (Ningpo: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1856).

works had appeared as *kanpan*.<sup>82</sup> Next to these Sinicized names are attempts by Mitsukuri to reconstruct the original names of these missionaries, based upon his knowledge of Chinese phonology.<sup>83</sup> Some attempts are more successful than others. The characters for Alexander Williamson (1829-90), for instance, were *Wei-lian-chen* (韋廉臣), making Mitsukuri's *Uoi-ren-shin* (ウオイ レン シン) a fairly faithful rendering. In contrast, Benjamin Hobson's characters, *He-xin* (合信), are transliterated misleadingly as *A-suin* (ア スイン).<sup>84</sup> Accuracy regardless, this list of names reveals to us that missionary authors were not, for Japanese readers, living Westerners in the flesh. They were above all textual entities that existed through the mediation of Chinese.

In the bulk of Mitsukuri's notes, this mediation took on two forms. The first attempted to correlate unfamiliar Chinese terms – mostly neologisms coined by missionaries – with their equivalents in Dutch, and where possible English. For example, next to the term for “equator” (赤道), Mitsukuri first wrote “de evenaars [sic] de W. (the equators of W.),” and then “W. world wereld.” Next to the phrase *di you xi li* (地有吸力), Mitsukuri wrote “aantrekkingskracht,” then “gravitation.”<sup>85</sup> Proper nouns often proved more difficult, forcing Mitsukuri to consult other Chinese missionary texts for reference. Thus, Mitsukuri's notes on the kingdom of Israel (以色列) feature a long excerpt on the history of the Israelites taken from the pages of the *Chinese-Western Almanac* (中西通

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<sup>82</sup> Way relied upon prior geographies compiled by Karl Gützlaff, William Muirhead, and Elijah Bridgman to complete his book.

<sup>83</sup> Mitsukuri had, for this purpose, composed a personal pronouncing dictionary of Chinese for this purpose. See *Tō onpu* 唐音府, No. 91, Mitsukuri Genpo/Rinshō kankei monjo 箕作阮甫・麟祥関係文書, Kensei shiryōshitsu, NDL (Reel 22:218-56).

<sup>84</sup> *Chikyū sestsuryaku soshō*, 3:4.

<sup>85</sup> *Chikyū sestsuryaku soshō*, 3:7.

書), edited by Joseph Edkins (1823-1905).<sup>86</sup> This, then, was the first pattern of mediation: missionary translation from English into Chinese, followed by Japanese translation from Chinese into Dutch, and then Dutch into English.

The second form of mediation instead used Dutch to estimate the proper phonological value of Chinese words. As evidenced by Mitsukuri's efforts to recreate the names of missionaries, Japanese knowledge of Chinese phonology was not always accurate. Dutch here proved an aid, and throughout Mitsukuri's journal we often find common Chinese characters given transliterations taken from Dutch sources, particularly the Amsterdam periodical *De Aardbol* [The Earth], a magazine of popular geography and ethnology.<sup>87</sup> The familiar *zhongguo* (中国) is glossed as “thaeng koëe” and “tsjiaeng koëe”; *zhonghua* (中華) is glossed as “tsjiaeng-haa”; and the Great Qing, or *da Qing* (大清), is glossed as “da tsjing.”<sup>88</sup> In this sense, missionary textbooks were not only a means by which to acquire Western knowledge. Paired with Dutch materials, they could also function as the basis for acquiring Chinese phonology.

Chinese missionary textbooks thus represented a complex textual force-field between Japanese scholarship and Western knowledge. The origins of this force-field arose in a large part from the tensions experienced by missionaries themselves as

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<sup>86</sup> *Chikyū sestsuryaku soshō*, 3:9. Interesting, this excerpt reveals that Mitsukuri, at least, did not shy away from researching Christian elements contained within Chinese missionary texts. The passage from the *Zhongxi tongshu* speaks of the religion of Israel as being an anticipation of the Gospels, and explains the name “Jehovah” as the Hebrew designation for God: 「按一千八百五十九年中西通書附末祭儀云以色列人早見福音之道如日初出我人觀已知之・・・以色列聖書回見福音未來之影也○（按）其族不信他神其所信之神名 *jehova* ・・・安 *gospel, of aangenaam berigt, evangeliéen, of goede boodschap*」

<sup>87</sup> *De Aardbol: Magazijn voor hedendagsche land- en volkenkunde* ran from 1839 to 1852. The bakufu imported the work as early as 1855, and the Shirabesho catalog indicates 10 volumes in its possession. See *Bansho shirabesho shojyaku mokuroku sha* 蕃書調所書籍目録写, Rare Books and Classics Reading Room, NDL.

<sup>88</sup> *Chikyū sestsuryaku soshō*, 3:13.

transnational agents wary of the pernicious effects of overt Western influence – in particular the opium trade. Their policies born from these concerns embodied precisely the kind of balance desired by officials in Japan who feared the uncontained spread of Western knowledge. By actively reprinting and asserting control over these texts, the shogunate converted Chinese missionary print into a resource for its own educational initiatives, one that ensured that classical Chinese Learning would maintain a foundational role in mediating the acquisition of new ideas from the West.

### **Chinese Print and Modern Japanese Knowledge**

To be clear, my claim here is not to deny that Japanese scholars engaged directly with Western texts. It is clear, after all, that Mitsukuri Genpo read *De Aardbol* just as much as he read the *Diqiu shuolüe*. Rather, my argument is that in consistently privileging the latter relationship, our historiography has elided a more complex genealogy of transnational borrowings, transfers, and reworkings within East Asia that brokered the construction of modern Japanese knowledge.

Indeed, the forms of brokerage provided by new regional print networks were not confined to print alone. These same networks also enabled the circulation and identification of foreign experts instrumental to educational modernization in Japan. Consider, for instance, the case of D.B. McCartee. As mentioned earlier, McCartee was one of five men sent off to Ningbo by the American Presbyterian Mission, serving under Richard Way as assistant principal of the mission boarding school.<sup>89</sup> Half a decade later,

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<sup>89</sup> Anson Burlingame to U.S. Legation, Peking, 7 March 1865. RG-177-1-2 D.B.M. McCartee Family Papers. Presbyterian Historical Society. On McCartee's career generally, see "A Western Scholar's Reasons for Coming to China," *Bibliotheca Sacra* (April, 1903): 371-76; "Tribute to D.B. McCartee, MD," *American Presbyterian Mission of East Japan* (Tokyo) 19 Feb. 1894. McCartee also provides a curriculum vitae of his career up September 1877 in D.B. McCartee to G. Wiley Wells, Esq., 22 September 1877. RG-177-1-2 D.B.M. McCartee Family Papers. Presbyterian Historical Society. On the initial conditions of the Ningbo mission, see *China: Ningpo Mission. Report for the Year ending October 1, 1845*. Board of Foreign

in 1851, McCartee established his own separate day school from out of his own home. In the meantime, he worked not only upon translating religious tracts, but also the translation of scientific textbooks.<sup>90</sup>

McCartee's work had become familiar to Japanese audiences by the early 1850s, when his brief tract on the regulation of opium first made its way to Japan.<sup>91</sup> This work was later republished with Japanese annotations in Yorozyu's catalogue as a *kanpan*. Thus, when in 1872, Meiji officials sought to hire foreign teachers for the Kaisei Gakkō, their attention turned to McCartee, whose "intellectual abilities" they deemed "far superior." The reasoning behind this was simple. As evidenced from his lengthy list of publications, McCartee had proven himself an "expert Sinologist."<sup>92</sup>

In print networks beyond those of missionary activity, we find similar tales, such as that of Emile Lépissier (1826-74).<sup>93</sup> Born in Paris and previously in the employ of the National Observatory, Lépissier arrived in Beijing in 1867 to take up a professorship in Astronomy at the Beijing Tongwenguan (京師同文館). Simultaneously, Lépissier also worked as a writer for the burgeoning French-language periodical scene in Shanghai.

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Missions Correspondence, 2:110. Presbyterian Historical Society. The others serving with McCartee were Culbertson, Way, Lowrie, and Cole (the last of these being not a missionary, but a printer).

<sup>90</sup> *Eighth Annual Report of the Ningpo Mission of the B.F.M.P.C. from Oct 1st 1850 to Sept 20 1851*. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence PCUSA, Vol. 3, No. 194. The textbook in question was Denison Olmsted's *Introduction to Natural Philosophy*, although it would appear that McCartee never completed his translation. D.B. McCartee to W. Lowrie, 5 June 1852. Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 217. Presbyterian Historical Society.

<sup>91</sup> Ira Tracy and Divie Bethune McCartee, *Yapian liu jie* 鴉片六戒 (Ningpo: Presbyterian Society Mission Press, 1847).

<sup>92</sup> 過日中教師代人御雇入之儀, Meiji 5.8.15. Gan'yō ruisan [含要類纂]. Gojūnen shiryō [University of Tokyo Semicentennial Collection], 88-2, University of Tokyo General Library: 「是迄支那上海寧波等ニ滞留罷在支那学モ出来いたし候者ニ候」. On McCartee's duties, see D.B. McCartee to G. Wiley Wells, Esq., 22 September 1877, RG-177-1-2 D.B.M. McCartee Family Papers. Presbyterian Historical Society.

<sup>93</sup> Thanks are due to Professor Nakamura Tsuko 中村士, formerly of Teikyō Heisei University, for bringing Lépissier to my attention. Much of the following account derives from his unpublished research on Lépissier.

Articles, in particular, on the state of Chinese education appeared in *Le Nouvelliste*, and *Le Progrès*.<sup>94</sup> Eventually, Lépissier left the Tongwenguan in 1870 to take up an editorship at *Le Progrès*.

Much to Lépissier's dismay, the journal folded in late 1871. An offer soon came, however from C. Lévy, the publisher of *L'Echo du Japon*, to join him in Yokohama as an editor. Taking up this offer, Lépissier found himself in Japan at the beginning of 1872. There, in addition to his regular duties, he used the *Echo*'s presses to print his own astronomical almanac.<sup>95</sup> Featuring, notably, numerous tables for matching Chinese and Japanese measurements of time with their counterparts in the Gregorian calendar, Lépissier's almanac found favor with Japanese scholars. His name appears as a potential hire in the early summer of 1872.<sup>96</sup> Official employment began later that fall, around the same time as McCartee, whereupon he was given the title of "Professeur de Mécanique et d'Astronomie," and asked to deliver lectures on Astronomy, Algebra, and Geometry.

Examining brokerage through regional print networks thus opens the way to a new understanding of how modern knowledge was crafted during East Asia's nineteenth century. The intensified penetration of Western imperial powers did not simply partition the region into hierarchies of national difference within a Eurocentric world of nations. Rather, it created a temporary "condition of undecidedness" – a caesura between early

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<sup>94</sup> On these two periodicals and Francophone publishing in Shanghai, see, briefly, Claire Le Chatelier, "La presse française à Shanghai," *Le Souvenir français* 34 (Nov., 2009), pp. 5-6.

<sup>95</sup> Émile Lépissier, *Almanach pour l'année 1873 (6ème année de la période Méi-dji) dite l'année du coq, avec la concordance des mois européens et chino-japonais et renseignements divers* (Yokohama: L'Écho du Japon, 1872).

<sup>96</sup> 別紙御雇教師, Meiji 5.6.22 *Gan'yō ruisan* [含要類纂], *op. cit.*



modern and modern orders whose outcome was still uncertain.<sup>97</sup> Within this caesura, new transnational actors in China produced intellectual resources that could effectively broker Western knowledge for Japanese audiences themselves ambivalent over their own relationship to the West. This observation offers a necessary corrective. Japan may well have, in the words of one prominent historian, embarked upon “a shopping spree in the mall of Western institutions, from central banks and universities to post offices and police forces.”<sup>98</sup> But to purchase those very universities, there was at least one thing that they first had to buy from China: textbooks.

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<sup>97</sup> The phrase “condition of undecidedness” is my translation of Yamashita Norihisa’s term, *hi-kettei-jōkyō* (非決定状況). According to Yamashita, Asia’s nineteenth century represented a “caesura” of global order during which emerged new competing agencies and subjectivities that did not settle in favor of the West until the century’s end. See Yamashita Norihisa 山下範久, *Sekai shisutemu-ron de yomu Nihon* 世界システム論で読む日本 (Tokyo: Kōdansha sensho mechie, 2003), p. 9. For a view of this “caesura” from the perspective of intellectual history, see Katsurajima Nobuhiro 桂島宜弘, “‘Kinsei teikoku’ no kaitai to jūkyū seiki zenhanki no shisō dōkō 「近世帝国」の解体と十九世紀前半期の思想動向,” in Karube Tadashi, Kurozumi Makoto, Satō Hiroo, Sueki Fumihiko, and Tajiri Yūichirō, eds., *Nihon shisōshi kōza 3: kinsei* 日本思想史講座 3——近世 (Tokyo: Perikan-sha, 2012), pp. 367-97.

<sup>98</sup> Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 73.

**CHAPTER IV**  
**Dealing Civilization, Dealing Enlightenment:**  
**Brokers of Knowledge in Bakumatsu and Early Meiji Japan**

The introduction of the foreign merchant into Japan in 1859, therefore, marked a specially significant epoch in her history, because it was the introduction of a permanent germ of internationalism, that must be constantly developed if Japan's international future is to be successful. There are other lines of internationalism, of course, – Science, Literature, Art, Philosophy, etc. – but they are luxuries.<sup>1</sup>

Onuma Hitoshi 小沼均 watched the rickshaw clamber toward his post on the western wharf of Yokohama. It was a chill evening in late November 1874; the clock had just struck ten; and as the rickshaw rolled near, Onuma spied that its passenger – a “Westerner,” he noted – sat hunched over an object of substantial bulk. In accordance with his duties as customs agent, Onuma hailed the vehicle, bringing it to a stop and inquiring after the name of the passenger. He then stated that an inspection would be necessary before passing beyond to the wharf.

“Hartley,” went the first reply. But to Onuma's second demand, the answer was far less cordial. “Hartley” protested that he brought with him only personal belongings for his journey, and refused further inspection. Onuma persisted; Hartley stood ground. Their commotion attracted a second customs agent, Nagaoka Ryōzan 永岡亮三, who bluntly advised that “Hartley” abandon his journey, for under no conditions could he pass with goods uninspected.

Visibly angered, “Hartley” ordered his rickshaw to turn away. The situation, if not resolved, at least seemed to have reached a provisional settlement. Only minutes later, however, a doubt sprung into Onuma's mind. Yokohama at the time had two wharfs – the

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<sup>1</sup> *Japan Gazette Yokohama Semi-Centennial, specially combined and published to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of Japan to foreign trade* (Yokohama: [s.n.], 1909), p. 3.

“English *hatoba*,” situated to the northwest, and then the “French *hatoba*,” half a mile down the coast to the southeast.<sup>2</sup> Gazing at the rickshaw’s receding form, Onuma, stationed at the English *hatoba*, realized that the carriage was not bound for the path back to town, but had veered left toward the southeastern wharf. Might it be that this troublesome foreigner “Hartley” was now attempting to move his goods past a second customs point, in the hope of finding greater lenience? Onuma hastily ordered Nagaoka to take over his post, while he himself dashed off in pursuit.

Onuma’s instincts had not failed him. He arrived at the eastern wharf to find “Hartley” there, engaged in a debate with the customs agent Ōishi Yoshimune 大石良致. This time, their quarrel ended with a flustered “Hartley” storming off on foot. Left behind was the rickshaw, in which Onuma and Ōishi found two boxes. Opening them revealed silk sleeping robes of Japanese manufacture. The two set about writing up a report of the incident, only to be interrupted midway by “Hartley’s” return, whereupon he demanded the belongings he had abandoned in a huff. Onuma and Ōishi informed him that this was now impossible: under the treaties, as anybody should well know, textiles such as silk robes were subject to an export tariff. The robes would thus be confiscated by customs, and could not be reclaimed until proper steps were taken to pay the tariff accordingly. “Hartley” again grew rancorous. He demanded both Onuma and Ōishi’s names, then departed with the threat that next morning, he would head straight to his consulate to lodge a complaint.

### **A Bounty of Names**

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<sup>2</sup> N.B. Dennys, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan. A Complete Guide to the Open Ports of Those Countries, Together with Peking, Yedo, Hongkong and Macao. Forming a Guide Book & Vade Mecum for Travellers, Merchants, and Residents in General with 29 Maps and Plans* (London: Trübner & Co.; Hongkong: A. Shortreder & Co., 1867), p. 582.

In this, at least, “Hartley” was a man of his word. It is from ensuing consular negotiations with Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs that we know today of the incident.<sup>3</sup> But should we attempt to seek further traces of Hartley, his trail quickly grows more obscure. Records of foreigners in the archives of late bakumatsu and early Meiji Japan reads as books of ciphers: we encounter proper names – German, French, Japanese, English, and others – rendered as the untrained Japanese ear would hear them, a cacophony of competing sounds. Thus it is that across different documents we find differing designations: *Harutori* (ハルトリー), *Hātori* (ハー トリー), *Hātorei* (ハー トレイ), and *Hātorē* (ハー トレー), to mention some of the more common variations.

The observation is of more than passing import, for the fragmented way in which Japanese sources named “Hartley” parallels a fragmentation in our own historiography. Scholars of Osaka’s modern history, for instance, speak of a hot-headed merchant named *Hātorei* whose trespasses against zoning regulations and bouts of physical violence sparked frequent diplomatic disputes after the city’s opening in 1868.<sup>4</sup> Scholars of medical history, meanwhile, have assembled anecdotes of a *Harutori* whose impressive fluency in multiple dialects of Japanese endeared him to native pharmacists and doctors seeking drugs from the West.<sup>5</sup> Media historians point to the newspaper publisher

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<sup>3</sup> The details of the incident are summarized from the correspondence in B-3-1-5-7, “Yokohama zeikan ni okeru eiji ‘Harutori’ wasei shin’i mitsu’un torioshi ikken 横浜税関ニ於テ英人「ハルトリー」和製寝衣密運取押一件,” Meiji 7.12, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.

<sup>4</sup> Ōsaka Shiyakusho 大阪市役所, eds., *Meiji Taishō Ōsaka shishi* 明治大正大阪市史, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1935), pp. 361-62, 410-11; Shinshū Ōsaka-shi Hensan Iinkai 新修大阪史編纂委員会, eds., *Shinshū Ōsaka-shi* 新修大阪史, vol. 5 (Osaka: Ōsaka-shi, 1991), pp. 46-47, 80-81, 842. He is listed separately as both *Harutori* and *Hātorei* in Hotta Akio 堀田暁生 and Nishiguchi Tadashi 西口忠, eds., *Ōsaka Kawaguchi kyorūchi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1995), pp. 7, 398.

<sup>5</sup> It was claimed, even, that his mastery of the local names of medicines in the Kansai dialect surpassed that of Japanese doctors from the eastern (Kantō) region. Rinshō Geppōsha 臨牀月報社, eds., *Yakugyō gojūnen-shi* 薬業五十年史 (Tokyo: Rinshō Geppōsha, 1927), pp. 15-16.

*Harutori*; cultural historians note that a certain *Hātorē* introduced rubber balloons to Japan.<sup>6</sup> Above all two currents have diverged: intellectual historians write of a *Harutori* who was one of the principal importers of European-language textbooks into Japan, while historians of international relations tell of a *Hātorī* who claimed fame as an opium smuggler.<sup>7</sup>

Unbeknownst often to record-keepers back then, and routinely ignored by researchers today, all of these references in fact referred to the same man: John Hartley (1840-1910). And it is the story of John Hartley – and that of another of his contemporaries, Jakob Kaderli (1827-74) – that I aim to recover in this chapter. To be sure, such an intention may seem at first quaint. The age of biography, we are told, is past. Not only do men fail to make their own history as they please, but they seem not to make

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<sup>6</sup> James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), p. 51; *Naigai shinbun* 内外新報 Keiō 4.4 (1868). The balloons, referred to as “rubber kites” (ゴムいか), became one of the bestsellers of Hartley’s Osaka branch shop in 1868. According to the *Naigai shinbun*, “It is said that the British trader Hartley has gone to Osaka and taken up residence with Dr. Nishida of Kaiya-machi. Along with his medical practice, Hartley is selling various western goods. Among these are flute-shaped rubber objects which he fills with gas and ties off with a string. He would hold this string in his hand and walk around town with the rubber contraption. All those who saw it wanted one of their own, and it is said that Hartley has made much money selling these.”

<sup>7</sup> For mentions of Hartley as a prominent bookseller, see *Maruzen hyakunen-shi* 丸善百年史, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Maruzen kabushiki kaisha, 1980), p. 20; Ishiguro Tadanori 石黒忠憲, *Kaikyū kyūjū-nen* 懐旧九十年 (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 1983), p. 129; Miyanaga Takashi 宮永孝, “Bakumatsu-Meiji no Eigaku 幕末・明治の英学,” *Hōsei Daigaku shakaigakubu gakkai* 法政大学社会学部学会 46, no. 2 (1999), pp. 3-4. For the most comprehensive analysis of Hartley as an opium smuggler, see Katō Yūzō 加藤祐三, “Ahen mitsuyu Hātorī jiken: 1877-nen no Yokohama zeikan no tekihatsu, ryōji saiban, Nichi-Ei gaikō kōshō アヘン密輸ハートリー事件——一八七七年の横浜税関の摘発、領事裁判、日英外交考証——,” *Yokohama kyoryūchi to ibunka kōryū: 19-seiki kōhan no kokusai toshi o yomu* 横浜居留地と異文化交流——19世紀後半の国際都市を読む (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppan, 1996), pp. 362-90; a brief mention of the Hartley Opium scandal appears, with several errors, in Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, “From Peril to Profit: Opium in Late-Edo to Meiji Eyes,” in *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952*, ed. Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 67-68. Similarly, the brief mention in Miriam Kingsberg’s monograph mentions him only as an opium smuggler, Miriam Kingsberg, *Moral Nation: Modern Japan and Narcotics in Global History* (Berkeley: University of California press, 2014), p. 13. The most extensive treatment in English thus far appears in Richard T. Chang, *The Justice of the Western Consular Courts in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984).

it at all. Our world is one of networks and diffused agency, of non-human “actants” and “things” with social lives.<sup>8</sup>

Yet certain contradictions and incongruencies that make little sense when dissected dead on our intellectual operating tables disclose a more definite logic when apprehended together through the total life of an individual. John Hartley, the bookseller, peddled the textbooks that made Japanese modernity; John Hartley, the opium smuggler, peddled the drug that destroyed modern Asia. These two economies – of textbooks, and of opium – bore a connection, I argue, that was more than incidental. One of these connections was made evident in the preceding chapter, where we unearthed the impact of opium upon missionary textbook policies. By reaching back into the life of John Hartley, we may discover another connection, one that will allow us ultimately to arrive at a fuller understanding of the political economy of global knowledge in the nineteenth century.

Specifically, the two lives I illumine in this chapter – that of John Hartley, and that of Jakob Kaderli – provide a profile of the kinds of agents whom Robert Darnton has labeled “the forgotten middlemen of literature.”<sup>9</sup> Warehouse keepers and wagon drivers, smugglers and itinerant book peddlers, these middlemen were an essential link in the larger chain of textual distribution, but remain largely absent in our scholarship. The cost of this absence has been a historiography that emphasizes production and consumption,

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<sup>8</sup> On “actants” see Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 54-55; on the “social life of things,” see Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 3-63.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Darnton, “The Forgotten Middlemen of Literature,” *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991), pp. 136-53. I would also point readers to the upcoming work of John Garcia, who has urged us to consider how “distribution is much more than an interstitial moment” for our understanding of texts. See John Garcia, “Literary Dissemination and the Nation in Fragments” (unpublished manuscript), pp. 2-3.

with little investigation into the ways in which the activities of both producers and consumers are conditioned by the decisions of actors who, more often than not, cared little for books themselves, and more for the profit to be derived in moving them.

This tendency has been particularly pronounced in intellectual and cultural histories of Japan for those years known as the era of “civilization and enlightenment” (文明開化).<sup>10</sup> Extending over the 1870s, Japan’s “civilization and enlightenment” has been studied for the ferment of its debate over Western ideas, particularly its influence over the political thought of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement. We have histories of key figures such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, and analyses of learned societies such as the Meirokusha.<sup>11</sup> We have erected an image of “the full sweep of European Enlightenment and nineteenth-century liberal thought...positivism, materialism, utilitarianism... the wholesale delivery of the entire Western liberal tradition.”<sup>12</sup> To know “civilization and enlightenment” has been to know how Nakae Chōmin translated Rousseau, how Nakamura Masanao translated Mill.

In addition to these heady debates over the status of parliamentarianism and popular rights, over models of society inherited from Spencer and models of world history inherited from Guizot, I propose we add names like John Hartley and Jakob Kaderli. For, as idiosyncratic as may seem the diversity of their myriad pursuits –

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<sup>10</sup> There is room for debate as to whether this translation is most accurate. In its original use in Fukuzawa’s *Seiyō jijō* (1868), *bunmei kaika* was used as a translation of “civilization” *tout court*.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, Albert Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Christopher L. Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France and the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Douglas R. Howland, *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth B. Pyle, “Meiji Conservatism,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan. Volume 5. The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 676.

smuggler, publisher, bookseller, adventurer, geologist, textbook author – Hartley and Kaderli were symptomatic of what observers at the time branded a “fever of civilization,” if not at times a “horrible sickness of civilization.”<sup>13</sup> Alongside ideas of freedom, rights, and parliamentarianism came new commodities from the West that sculpted a pattern of quasi-fetishistic consumption.<sup>14</sup> As one French observer lamented in 1872, gazing upon the sartorial trends of a Tokyo gripped by *bunmei kaika*, “The empire of boots and leggings will be just as universal as the empire of the ideas of 1789.”<sup>15</sup>

“Civilization and enlightenment” was therefore also about “consuming *things* as symbols of ‘enlightenment.’”<sup>16</sup> Among these “things” were books, and thus any history of imported books during this era must, if it is to be faithful, situate books alongside this broader economy. It must examine how “civilization and enlightenment” was molded by the middle-level miscellany of profit-seekers who, by feeding this economy of consumption, also enabled the consumption of Western knowledge. This is the goal of this chapter. My method will be biography.

## From Books to Opium

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<sup>13</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所蔵 Archive du Général Léon Descharmes, in *Documents historiques concernant le Japon conservés en France* フランス國所在文書: Yokohama 18 Mai 1872, “les japonais sont atteints d’une fièvre de civilisation,” and 2 Juin 1872, “le Japon est atteint d’une maladie affreuse de civilisation.”

<sup>14</sup> “[B]ordering on a fetish at times.” See Robert Eskildsen, “Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan,” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 2 (Apr., 2001): p. 392.

<sup>15</sup> “L’empire des bottes et des caleçons sera aussi universel que celui des idées de 89, que l’Europe nous envoie.” Descharmes, Yokohama 15 Septembre 1872, in *Arch. Du Gen. L. Descharmes: Les deux missions, 1866-76, 7567-3*, Photoprint series, University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute. The originals are held at the Musée de l’Armée, Marseilles.

<sup>16</sup> Maeda Ai, “Panorama of Enlightenment,” in *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity*, ed. James Fujii (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 83.





4.1 John Hartley, ca. 1908: Courtesy of John J. Hartley.

John Hartley was born on March 7, 1840, in the Cripplegate ward of London, the second child in a family that would over the next decade expand to two sisters and three brothers. His father, John Lister Hartley (1802/3-70), dealt in oil during the day, and painted at night. His mother worked as a household servant in Bloomsbury.<sup>17</sup> Nothing in his background would seem to have particularly predisposed him to travel. And yet, for reasons unknown, we find him in Shanghai as of late 1863, and by October 1864, in Yokohama.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> For these details, I am indebted to John Hartley of Queensland, Australia.

<sup>18</sup> *Japan Gazette. Yokohama Semi-Centennial "Japan Gazette" Yokohama semi-centennial, 1859-1909, specially compiled and published to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of Japan to foreign trade, designed and lithographed by the "Japan Gazette" Press, Yokohama* (Yokohama: [s.n.], 1909), p. 85.

Hartley arrived at a nervous time in Japanese history. Yokohama itself had risen from the swamps but a half decade ago, and its climate was one saturated by mistrust, with the aftertaste of the Satsuma Indemnity still lingering, and the shelling of Kagoshima fresh on minds. Newspapers reported of “a deplorably unsettled state,” and stirred panic over a “system of terrorism from the supremacy of the ronins over the laws.”<sup>19</sup>

There was, however, profit to be had. The observation that European-language books – especially English-language books – would prove a lucrative enterprise in Japan had already been made by the Dutch-American missionary Guido F. Verbeck in 1864.<sup>20</sup> To Hartley’s luck, none prior to his arrival had taken to the bookselling business, save missionaries, who, as described in the previous chapter, distributed Chinese-language works from their own presses. Prior to the opening of Yokohama, Western book sales in the region were confined primarily to Nagasakiya 長崎屋, the designated wholesaler in Edo of items imported through Nagasaki.<sup>21</sup>

By 1865, however, when the young Ishiguro Tadanori 石黒直恵 (1845-1941) arrived in Edo to study medicine, there were three principal dealers in Western books:

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<sup>19</sup> See Hugh Cortazzi, “Yokohama: Frontier Town, 1859-1866,” *Asian Affairs* 17, no. 1 (March, 1986): pp. 3-17; Francis Hall, *Japan Through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall, 1859-1866*, ed. Fred G. Notehelfer (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), p. 522 (Entry for Dec. 24, 1863), p. 527 (Entry for Jan. 14, 1864).

<sup>20</sup> Guido F. Verbeck to Brother Ferris, Nagasaki, 28 May 1864 (Gardner A. Sage Library, 743/1/1): “An English bookstore (at least in connection with some other business) would do pretty well here or at Yokohama. For Japanese are willing to pay a good price for such books as they want.” Note that “Dutch-American” is technically incorrect – Verbeck in fact possessed no nationality. He was, however, Netherlands-born, and served as a principal member of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. A later attempt to obtain Japanese citizenship failed.

<sup>21</sup> Catalogues for Nagasakiya would appear to exist, but I have been unable to find any. Sakuma Shōzan, for instance, makes mention of them. Letter from Sakuma Shōzan to Katsu Kaishū, Ansei 6.7.22, in *Katsu Kaishū zenshū. Bekkan. Raikan to shiryō* 勝海舟全集・別館・来簡と資料 (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1982), p. 74. 「一、当時長崎やに有之候洋書目録は、御手には無御座候や。御座候はば、一寸拝借奉願度、一覽之上、的便直に返璧可申上候」

Nagasakiya, Tenjikuya, and Hartley.<sup>22</sup> Of these, Nagasakiya continued to enjoy the closest relations to the shogunate, offering them first pick at new arrivals, but it seems that Tenjikuya, too, enjoyed an illustrious clientele, including the likes of Nakamura Masanao 中村正直, later translator of John Stuart Mill, Hashimoto Sanai 橋本左内, and Katsu Kaishū.<sup>23</sup> Hartley would seem then to have been at a disadvantage, yet as researchers have pointed out, this may not have been the case. Tenjikuya's stock was primarily purchased from foreign merchants in Yokohama, making it likely that Hartley, in fact, would have been one of Tenjikuya's suppliers.<sup>24</sup>

We must keep in mind that to call these three “booksellers” is at root a misnomer. Scholars have noted that in both Europe and America, outside of the major urban centers which we are so prone to study, the profession of “bookseller” was far more ambiguous. Rarely in more rural towns could one sustain oneself with a store dedicated to books alone, and to be a “bookseller” typically meant trading in general stationery, instruments, and quite often medicines.<sup>25</sup> These economic circumstances held true for importers of Western books into Japan, at best a niche market. Just as Nagasakiya was a wholesaler for all Nagasaki imports, so too did Tenjikuya deal in a variety of imported items,

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<sup>22</sup> Ishiguro Tadanori 石黒直恵, *Kaikyū kyūjū-nen* 懐旧九十年 (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1983), p. 92.

<sup>23</sup> Ishii Kendō 石井研堂, *Jijoteki jinbutsu no tenkei: Nakamura Masanao-den* 自助的人物之典型——中村正直伝 (Tokyo: Seikō zasshiya, 1907), p. 47; Hattori Toshiyoshi 服部敏良, *Edo jidai igakushi no kenkyū* 江戸時代医学史の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2007), pp. 459-63; *Katsu Kaishū zenshū* 勝海舟全集, vol. 19 (Tokyo: Keisō shobō), p. 185, p. 354.

<sup>24</sup> Takahashi Yasuo 高橋康雄, *Media no akebono: Meiji kaikoku-ki no shinbun shuppan monogatari* メディアの曙——明治開国期の新聞・出版物物語 (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shinbunsha, 1994), p. 170; see also for an overview of the situation Mukai Akira 向井晃, “Yōsho no yunyū: Bakumatsu-Meijiiki o chūshin ni 洋書の輸入——幕末・明治期を中心に——,” in *Yokohama kyoryūchi to ibunka kōryū: 19-seiki kōhan no kokusai toshi o yomu* 横浜居留地と異文化交流——19世紀後半の国際都市を読む——, ed. Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan Yokohama Kyoryūchi Kenkyūkai 横浜開港資料館・横浜居留地研究会 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1996), pp. 251-70.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, 2nd ed. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), p. 57.

including munitions and equestrian gear.<sup>26</sup> Hartley was no exception to this pattern. Prior to selling books, in fact, he performed a short-lived stint as a druggist, but was dismissed for being “so energetic that he bea[t] the Japanese servants” in the store.<sup>27</sup> After this, he moved into “wholesale and retail,” and it was under this aegis that he entered the business of books.<sup>28</sup>

Soon thereafter, we see Hartley making his first forays into publishing. In 1867, the *Bankoku shinbun-shi* 萬国新聞紙, a monthly Japanese-language serial edited by the British consular official M. Buckworth Bailey, made its debut, with Hartley’s name displayed prominently on the cover as publisher.<sup>29</sup> As the first Japanese-language serial of its kind, the *Bankoku shinbun-shi* enjoyed a sizeable popularity among shogunal officials and domainal lords, with a print run of approximately 2,000 copies per issue.<sup>30</sup> Its contributors include several prominent Japanese bureaucrats, including Hoshi Tōru 星亨 (1850-1901), who would eventually become Minister of Communications.

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<sup>26</sup> Sakuma Shōzan, for instance, searched for a bridle at Tenjikuya. See Letter 1104 in *Shōzan zenshū* 象山全集, vol. 5 (Nagano: Shinano Mainichi Shinbun kabushiki kaisha, 1935), p. 482 「おらんだ馬具の事何かと御手数に候ひき御用人衆へも宜しく御申被下度候、此節は無之候へども、是迄天竺屋とやらんに御座候は下官のは八両上官のは二十五両より三十両又は十五両位との事御存じの手許故、・ ・ ・」 ; on Tenjikuya’s role as a munitions dealer, see Hōya Tōru 保谷徹, *Boshin sensō* 戊辰戦争 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2007), p. 175; “Teppō toriatsukai-shō no enkaku (Ōkura Kihachirō-kun no jitsurekidan 銃砲取扱商の沿革 (大倉喜八郎君の実歴談) ,” *Taiyō* 太陽 2, no. 13 (1927): pp. 3042-50.

<sup>27</sup> Willis, quoted. in Hugh Cortazzi, *Dr. Willis in Japan, 1862-1877: British Medical Pioneer* (London: Athlone Press, 1985), p. 64.

<sup>28</sup> See the listings for “Hartley & Co.” in *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & The Philippines*, collected in *Bakumatsu Meiji zainichi gaikokujin kikan meikan* 幕末明治在日外国人・機関名鑑, vols. 1-2 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1996).

<sup>29</sup> One of three. The other two publishers, Japanese, were Amano Kōtarō 天野屋幸太郎 of Hodogaya, and Ōkuroya Mobei 大黒屋茂兵衛, of Yokohama.

<sup>30</sup> *Japan Gazette Yokohama Semi-Centennial, specially combined and published to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of Japan to foreign trade* (Yokohama: [s.n.], 1909), pp. 118-19.

The benefit of publishing lay in self-promotion. Apart from the cover, Hartley's name appears in advertisements in back of every issue. The first of these rather modestly stated only the following: "New books from Britain on navigation, agriculture, and various other topics have arrived. We humbly ask for your patronage."<sup>31</sup> Soon thereafter was an advertisement for "teas, pharmaceutical devices, photographic equipment, and medical devices, as well as books from England, France, America, and China." One year later, his inventory as grown more elaborate: "New spelling, grammar, history, and geography books from America and England, as well as globes and maps; tools for drawing, medical books, new military books (currently in use in England), dual-language dictionaries of Dutch and French, and reading and grammar books for those languages; pens and stationery."<sup>32</sup> By this point, in fact, Hartley was running multiple ads in the back of the *Bankoku shinbun*, each targeted at a specific audience. Students of medicine, for instance, would be interested to hear of the availability J.L.C. Pompe van Meedervoort's *Vijfjaren in Japan*, for which Hartley reserved a separate announcement. Meedervoort had previously been stationed as a military doctor in Nagasaki, where he had taken on several prominent Japanese disciples. *Vijfjaren* was his memoir. Highlighting his "contribution[s] t the education of so many of this country's medical students," Hartley's advertisement enticed customers with the promise of the great Meedervoort's incisive analysis of "Japan's customs and clothing."

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<sup>31</sup> 「英国新航海書並ニ農業書等到着仕候間御買求之程奉願候」. See WB43-4 萬国新聞紙第2集 (慶応3年2月), Rare Books and Classics Reading Room, National Diet Library.

<sup>32</sup> 「此度英吉利亜墨利加ヨリ新ニ舶来仕候「スペルリング」文法書歴史地理書地球儀地図両具の類 絵の具医書新兵書（当時英ニテ用ゆる者）和蘭陀佛蘭西の対辞書「リーゼング、ブック」文法書其外西洋筆墨紙」 See WB43-4-3 万国新聞紙第十二集 (慶応4年五月上旬), Rare Books and Classics Reading Room, National Diet Library.

With the opening of Osaka following the Meiji Restoration, Hartley saw the opportunity to enact this same strategy, this time wholly on his own terms. Between 1868 and 1869, he expanded to a separate branch in Osaka, and there embarked on his own publishing enterprise, the monthly *Kakkoku shinbun-shi* 各国新聞紙. Accounts of this publication vary. John Reddie Black, himself a publisher in Japan at the time, reported that Hartley had enlisted the aid of a “young samurai of the Chosiu [Chōshū] clan,” and that the *Kakkoku* “was thought by some competent judges to be superior to” Bailey’s *Bankoku*.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, historians of Osaka claimed the *Kakkoku* to have been a failure, riddled with misinformation, and tarnished by its association with Captain Francis Howard Vyse (1826-1909), Hartley’s co-investor, who had gained notoriety as consul for permitting the theft of Ainu graves around Hakodate.<sup>34</sup>

The latter are more likely correct. Amounting to little more than ten leaves, the last three of which were advertisements, Hartley’s *Kakkoku shinbun* lasted only for two issues. But this does not preclude the possibility that the endeavor proved advantageous for Hartley’s launch of his Osaka branch store. Rather than its content, which was copied over largely from other newspapers, Hartley placed more effort in advertising – in particular, his own. The final two pages of the *Kakkoku* are occupied with an announcement of Hartley’s Osaka branch:

In our stores at No. 51, Yokohama, and at Kaiyamachi, Osaka, we stock all Western books: astronomy, geography, military science, navigation, mining, medicine, physics, bilingual books, and every variety of recently published

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<sup>33</sup> John Reddie Black, *Young Japan. Yokohama and Yedo*, vol. 2 (London: Trübner & Co.; Yokohama: Kelly & Co., 1881), p. 275.

<sup>34</sup> Shinshū Ōsaka-shi Hensan Iinkai 新修大阪史編纂委員会, eds., *Shinshū Ōsaka-shi* 新修大阪史, vol. 5 (Osaka: Ōsaka-shi, 1991), p. 842; on Vyse, see Hugh Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan. In and Around the Treaty Ports* (London: Bloomsbury, 1987), pp. 44-45.

books from England, France, and America. We humbly await the honor of your visit. In addition, we stock teas for rashes, numbness, fatigue, fever... and also offer fitting treatment for various illnesses. We also announce that we perform check-ups for all visitors with ailments, male or female, old or young, elite or commoner. If any of the books or other items you seek are not in stock [at the Osaka branch], we will order them immediately from Yokohama. We humbly ask for your patronage at any time.<sup>35</sup>

Serial publications as a form of advertising seems to have worked. Clippings of Hartley's Osaka and Yokohama advertisements appear in Tanaka Yoshio's scrapbook, indicating that prominent Japanese scholars were well aware of Hartley.<sup>36</sup> More importantly, the unleashed energies of the early Meiji years and the new social capital conferred upon things Western meant that Hartley's business boomed.<sup>37</sup>

Other foreign residents provided one link between Hartley and Japan's thirst for Western books. In the diaries of William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928), instructor first in Fukui domain, and later at the Kaisei Gakkō, "Hartley & C" makes repeated appearances. For the most part, the orders were personal. Such was the case when, on April 29, 1871, Griffis asked Hartley for copies of the *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon*, and the *Japon illustré*, or when, at the end of November 1872, he noted that he still owed Hartley \$30.00 Mexican for "Fr. & Ger. Books."<sup>38</sup> However, during Griffis' years as a

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<sup>35</sup> 「大阪櫛屋町横浜五十一番西洋書籍類不残所持致候天文地理調練航海礦山医書窮理対訳書英吉利佛蘭西亜米利堅極新板のブック種々有之候間御光臨奉待候其他茶種は湿毒一切中風労証瘟疫・・・随而諸病相応之治療も仕候間男婦老少ニ不拘疾病の御方は尊卑を不厭診察致候間此段吹聴仕候又書籍等種類自然當地ニワイテ売切し候品有之候ハバ早速横浜え申遣し取寄候間何時なりとも御光来偏に是祈」1008:29 各国新聞紙(慶応4年後4月), University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute.

<sup>36</sup> A00:6010 摺拾帖, Tanaka Yoshio Collection, University of Tokyo Library.

<sup>37</sup> "Hartley, the bookseller, boasted of a good deal of business, for young Japan was ravenously hungry for the new knowledge of the West." William Elliot Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan: A Citizen of No Country* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1900), p. 164

<sup>38</sup> WEG's Fukui Journal 1871, November, William Elliot Griffis Collection, Rutgers University Library.

tutor in Fukui, we also see orders made with Hartley for multiple copies of Muspratt's *Applied Chemistry*, and Cooke's *Chemical Physics*. Both the nature of these books and the request for multiple copies make it probable that Griffis intended to use them as textbooks for his students.<sup>39</sup>

Hartley's relationship with Griffis and Fukui domain may have mixed personal consumption with pedagogical, but the former's relationship with William Smith Clark (1826-86) was all school business. Clark, then head of the Sapporo Agricultural College, ordered both books, as well as chemicals and scientific instruments, from Hartley. Surviving invoices surprisingly indicates that education at the Agricultural College may have had a highly literary flair: among the titles ordered were Francis H. Underwood's *A Handbook of English Literature*, Alexander Bain's *Rhetoric*, Thomas Grey's *Elegy*, Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*, and Lord Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.<sup>40</sup>

Hartley's major catch, however, was the Daigaku Nankō, newly renamed from the Kaiseijo, and soon to be renamed the Kaisei Gakkō. Though the record of transactions is incomplete, we find suggestive receipts here and there. For instance, on April 10, 1872, an order was placed for books at Hartley & Co. for a total value of \$200 Mexican. Among the books ordered were Francis Wayland's *Ethics*, Marcellus Cowdery's

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<sup>39</sup> 8 Wed., Feb. 1871-73; 29 Apr. [1871], Dec. 1871, in WEG's Fukui Journal 1871-1877, William Elliot Griffis Collection, Rutgers University Library. Once located in Tokyo, where he was closer to the mails, it appears that Griffis preferred ordering directly from the U.S. We see from his correspondence that he was in direct contact with Appleton, Longmans, Green & Co., and the Chambers. See Feb. 1874, Japan Notes 1870-74, William Elliot Griffis Collection, Rutgers University Library.

<sup>40</sup> Ikeda Tetsurō 池田哲郎, "Eigo kyōkasho 英語教科書," in *Nihon no eigaku hyakunen. Meijihen* 日本の英学一〇〇年 明治編, ed. Nihon no Eigaku Hyakunen Henshūbu (Tokyo: Kenkyūsha Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1968), p. 365; and Ikeda Tetsurō 池田哲郎, "Hokkaidō Eigaku-shi kō 北海道英学史稿," *Nihon Eigaku-shi kenkyūkai kenkyū hōkoku* 85 (1967): p. 14.



*Elementary Moral Lessons*, and the *Student's Handbook to Mill's Logic*. Each of these appears to have sold for a standardized price of \$1.75 Mexican.<sup>41</sup>

To better grasp the full extent of Hartley's business with the Daigaku Nankō and Kaisei Gakkō, we must turn instead to the material evidence provided by the books themselves. In the University of Tokyo's Central library, 483 textbooks have been discovered that bear seals of Hartley's stores in Osaka, Yokohama, and Edo.<sup>42</sup> There are four varieties of seals, as pictured below, and each indicates the address of one or more of Hartley's stores. Given that Hartley changed the storefront of his Yokohama branch in particular several times, we can use his address listings in the annual foreigner directory along with the seals to chart a timeline of Hartley's business. Doing so reveals that the overwhelming majority of these textbooks were sold during the 1870-72 period, when Hartley operated out of Lot No. 93 in Yokohama.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> 辛未十一月四日 辻新次, in 86-1 『含要類纂 卷之廿七 辨官本省往復之部 明治四年 諸件混合』, University of Tokyo Semi-Centennial Materials Collection, University of Tokyo Library.

<sup>42</sup> These, however, only represent 39 actual unique titles. As will be discussed in the next chapter, much of the early library consisted of duplicate textbooks for student use. For a list of Hartley's titles, see Tsukimura Tatsuo 月村辰雄, "Yō-kyōkasho ga kataru koto 洋書教科書が語ること," in *Tōkyō Daigaku shoki yōsho kyōkasho ni tsuite no sōgōteki kenkyū* 東京大学初期洋書教科書についての総合的研究, ed. Tsukimura Tatsuo (Tokyo: 2004), pp. 23-36.

<sup>43</sup> Takano Akira 高野彰, "Meiji-shoki no yōsho kyōkasho no hakken to tsuiseki 明治初期の洋書教科書の発見と追跡," in *Tōkyō Daigaku shoki yōsho kyōkasho ni tsuite no sōgōteki kenkyū*, pp. 11-22.



**4.2 Seals for Hartley's storefronts:** Hartley & Co.'s Osaka branch, Yokohama branch, later Yokohama branch, and Edo branch, as well as the faux-titre of de Lacroze's *Abrégé chronologique* bearing both the seal of Hartley's Edo branch and the seal of the Kaiseijo.

That the height of Hartley's interactions came before 1873 coincides with other existing evidence, for by the end of that year, Hartley's business would appear to have fallen on hard times. In the *Yokohama mainichi shinbun* of December 1, 1873, Hartley issued an advertisement that he would be discontinuing the sale of books, and that all interested should come to his store, where more than 20,000 volumes still in stock would be auctioned off at a reduced price.<sup>44</sup> In April of 1874, Hartley wrote to his contacts at the Sapporo Agricultural College, demanding that they immediately settle all outstanding accounts.<sup>45</sup> Finally, in November of 1872, Hartley put out a notice that the Edo and Osaka branches of his store would be closing, leaving only the Yokohama storefront standing.<sup>46</sup>

What of the 20,000 volumes allegedly in Hartley's stock? It seems that he continued to sell these off slowly as the opportunity arose, including to the Kaisei Gakkō. In the school's annual newsletter for 1875, Hartley & Co. of Yokohama – mislabeled as an American firm – is listed as one of four suppliers of English, French, and German textbooks.<sup>47</sup> This, however, is it. From 1875 onward, one finds no further mention of John Hartley the bookseller.

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<sup>44</sup> 「各国書籍品々二万冊、右者弊店は迄各国書籍売買到来候勝手ニ付今般業体替仕候ニ付是迄所持ノ書籍類極廉価ニ売払候間御求相成度御方ハ当館へ御来車可被下候、十一月 横浜二拾四番ハルトリー」. *Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun* 横浜毎日新聞, 1 Dec. 1873.

<sup>45</sup> Ikeda Tetsurō 池田哲郎, "Hokkaidō Eigaku-shi kō 北海道英学史稿," *Nihon Eigaku-shi kenkyūkai kenkyū hōkoku* 85 (1967): p. 14.

<sup>46</sup> *Japan Weekly Mail*, 28 Nov. 1874.

<sup>47</sup> 「諸学科用の書籍ヲ準備セン為メ本年中横浜在米国人ウエットモール氏同国人ハルトリー氏英人コッキング氏築地在留独逸人ハーレンス氏及府下ニ在ルーニノ書肆ニ命シ英仏独米ノ各邦ニ注文スル者及ドクトル、モルレー氏米国ニ趣クニ際シ彼国ニ於テ購求ヲ委託スル者ト合セテ貳千貳百拾八部ナリ」 *Tōkyō Kaisei Gakkō nenpō* 東京開成学校年報 3 (1875), in *Tōkyō Daigaku nenpō* 東京大学年報, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993), p. 33; for an analysis by genre of the two thousand some volumes acquired this year, see Takano Akira 高野彰, *Teikoku toshokan ni okeru zōsho kōchiku no kenkyū* 帝国図書館における蔵書構築の研究 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2005), p. 97.

And then, on December 14, 1877, a steamer named the *Zambia* docked at Yokohama. On its shipping manifest was a medium-sized crate destined for Hartley, listed only as “scurvy grass and cochineal.” All at first seemed standard, but feeling something out of place, Customs Chief Motono Morimichi 本野盛享 made a closer inspection. His search revealed, hidden beneath the scurvy-grass, approximately 20 pounds of opium.<sup>48</sup> From 1875 onward, one finds no further mention of John Hartley the bookseller. From late 1877 onward, one finds overwhelming mention of John Hartley the opium smuggler.

### **Anatomy of a Failure**

In 1865, Hartley was one of only three dealers in Western books in the Yokohama area. Little over a decade later, he had retreated from bookselling, and was caught smuggling opium. The logic behind this transition, I argue, reveals a good deal about the political economy of imported books as it shifted in the opening years of Meiji. In particular, it tells us that merchants like Hartley, once necessary for the task of acquiring knowledge from abroad, were actively and deliberately displaced by Japanese traders with strong ties to the modernizing intellectual elite.

One might object to this analysis: did personal considerations not play a role? A former employer, after all, once claimed Hartley a notorious spendthrift always on the border of bankruptcy, making it not wholly implausible that Hartley drove his own bookselling business into the ground.<sup>49</sup> Alternatively, observing that Hartley married in

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<sup>48</sup> John M. Jennings, *The Opium Empire: Japanese Imperialism and Drug Trafficking in Asia, 1895-1945* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), pp. 11-12.

<sup>49</sup> William Willis to Fanny Willis, 14 February 1865, in Ōyama Mizuyo 大山瑞代, ed., *Bakumatsu ishin o kakenuketa Eikoku-jin ishi: yomigaeru Wiriamu Wirisu monjo. Kagoshima-ken Rekishi Shiryō Sentā*

late 1872, and that his first two children, Ethel and Violet, were born soon thereafter, it seems possible, too, that he wished simply to scale down his business and settle into domestic life.<sup>50</sup>

While all these factors may have impacted Hartley's retreat from the bookselling scene, they are unconvincing. Early Meiji saw a growing number of foreign booksellers in Yokohama, such as Allen & Co., Chipman, Stone & Co., Meyer & Co., etc., all who hoped to capitalize off of a new Japan's hunger for Western knowledge. Almost all of them met with a similar pattern of early success, followed by eventual failure before the second half of the 1870s. Most notably, Chipman's bookselling venture, sponsored by Hubert Howe Bancroft in the aim of expanding his already sizeable bookselling and publishing empire in San Francisco, ended up half a million Mexican dollars in debt by 1876.<sup>51</sup> Those that survived, such as Kelly & Walsh, did so by shifting their stock toward Orientalia, and catering exclusively toward the tastes of an expatriate community hungry for an exotic East.<sup>52</sup>

It was certainly not because Japanese audiences had grown tired of imported books – quite the contrary. In the words of one guidebook to Tokyo from 1874, “English books come in by day, French books by night. Civilization now flowers, and bookstores

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*Reimeikan shozō* 幕末維新を駆け抜けた英国人医師：蘇るウィリアム・ウィリス文書——鹿児島県歴史資料センター黎明館所蔵 (Tokyo: Sōsendō, 2003), p. 253.

<sup>50</sup> Private e-mail correspondence with John Hartley, 12 May 2014.

<sup>51</sup> *The Times* (Philadelphia, PA), 29 December 1876.

<sup>52</sup> See *Catalogue of Works Relating to China, Japan and the Far East* (Yokohama: Kelly & Co., 1881).

are generating wealth unheard of in times past.”<sup>53</sup> Foreign books were not the problem. Foreign booksellers were.

A common explanation at the time for this disparity lay in accusations of piracy. Foreign booksellers typically enjoyed favorable relations with their counterparts and other publishers abroad, but the Japanese were allegedly fond of circumventing foreign publishers. “After the establishment of the Government of the Mikado [i.e., the Meiji Restoration],” complained one American publisher, “the printer-publishers of Japan carried on a satisfactory business in reprinting American and European books,” in particular “text-books and works of reference.” This “shrewd” practice was allegedly conducted by requesting specimen copies from foreign publishers, with the false promise of larger purchases if the book was found acceptable. Upon receiving the specimen copy, “Japanese printers were ready, partly through the use of photographic processes, to produce reprints at a price perhaps one third, or not to exceed one half” of the book’s original price.<sup>54</sup>

Reprinting was an issue, but my investigation indicates that it only became one in the closing years of the 1870s, and therefore was not a major impact on the failure of firms like Hartley and Chipman. Prior to 1875, I can only find two significant strands of unlicensed reprinting: that of the books in Chamber’s Minor Educational Course, particularly the *Outlines of Geography*, and that of Epes Sargent’s series of elementary

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<sup>53</sup> 「英書日舶、佛書月渡、文華之明、於今為盛、書林之富、古所未聞」. Hattori Seiichi 服部誠一, *Tōkyō hanjōki* 東京繁盛記, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Keidōkaku, 1874), p. 17b.

<sup>54</sup> George Haven Putnam, *George Palmer Putnam: A Memoir, Together with a Record of the Earlier Years of the Publishing House Founded by Him* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s & Sons, 1912), pp. 424-25.

readers.<sup>55</sup> Granted, this survey was conducted at the NDL, a copyright library, and it is quite possible that reprinters would not have claimed copyright for their works.

Nonetheless, given the extremely large number of reprinted works one does find in the NDL collections (1091 titles) for the Meiji period, it is reasonable to conclude that accusations of piracy do not hold for this earlier era.

There are, instead, two more salient factors at work. The first was that the new Meiji government had begun contracting directly with publishers abroad for its educational book needs. The most famous example of this was a deal with George Palmer Putnam of Putnam & Co. in New York, with whom negotiations had been initiated under the Tokugawa shogunate on the eve of its fall, in the summer of 1867. In his initial shipment, sent from San Francisco to Yokohama in July of that year, Putnam had provided over 25,000 volumes, a stunning figure which newspapers reported amounted to 59 cases weighting approximately 10 tons, at a retail price of \$15,000 Mexican. Among the titles sent included some 13,000 elementary arithmetic books, reading-books, grammars and geographies by authors such as Guyot, Cornell, Colton, Felter, Sanders, and Quackenbos; 1,000 copies of works on natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Geology, Physiology and Astronomy, by Wells, Cummings, Youmans, Hitchcock and Riddle; 2,500 Webster's Dictionaries; 600 copies of Goodrich's School History, 200 Tenney's Natural Histories, 100 French's German Dictionaries, 400 Military Books, 10,000 Spencerian Penmanship, 100 Guyot's Wall Maps, 100 works on "practical Science," 48 copies of Wheaton's and Woolsey's International Law, respectively, as well as miscellaneous reference works and anthologies such as Putnam's *Dictionary of Dates*, the

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<sup>55</sup> See, for instance *Outlines of Geography* (Tokyo: Hokumonsha, 1871); and Epes Sargent, *Sargent's Third Reader* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1871).

*Life of Washington*, and others. According to the contract negotiated, Putnam was to continue supplying school books to Japan, but it appears the new Meiji government reneged on this agreement, which had been made by the shogunate.<sup>56</sup>

The second, and more important, factor at work was the rise of Japanese booksellers specializing in foreign imports. The most prominent of these was Z.P. Maruya & Co., known today to those familiar with Japan as Maruzen. A brief glance at its early history and its intersections with Hartley's reveals several telling differences that together spelled the downfall of the foreign bookseller.

The firm Z.P. Maruya & Co. was established in the first month of 1869 through a collaboration with Hayashi Yūteki 早矢仕有的 (1837-1901), then operating under the name "Maruya Zenpachi" 丸屋善八, and Fukuzawa Yukichi.<sup>57</sup> Prior to his encounter with Fukuzawa, Hayashi had already integrated himself into Edo intellectual circles, studying Western medicine under Tsuboi Shinryō since 1862.<sup>58</sup> But it was through an apprenticeship under Fukuzawa starting in 1867 that Hayashi discovered how his entrepreneurial spirit could be channeled into an expression of patriotic fervor. If Japan was to preserve its autonomy in the face of Western powers, Hayashi reasoned, then it would have to embrace a kind of mercantile nationalism. This belief was crystallized in

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<sup>56</sup> For the details of this transaction, see "American School-Books for Japan," *New York Tribune*, 3 July 1867, p. 8. For the Japanese side of the negotiations, see 2073-99 Ono Tomogorō nikki 小野友五郎日記, University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute.

<sup>57</sup> For a timeline of Maruzen's history, see *Maruzen hyakunenshi: Nihon kindai no ayumi to tomo ni* 丸善百年史——日本近代化の歩みとともに, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1981), pp. 221-25.

<sup>58</sup> On the details of this earlier apprenticeship, see Satō Takashi 佐藤孝, "Shin bunmei no yunyū shōsha Hayashi Yūteki 新文明の輸入商・早矢仕有的," in *Yokohama shōnin to sono jidai* 横浜商人とその時代, ed. Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan 横浜開港資料館 (Tokyo: Yūrindō, 1994), pp. 107-38.



the founding charter of Z.P. Maruya & Co.<sup>59</sup> “Foreigners did not just come to our land on grounds of ‘amity,’” wrote Maruya, referencing the Treaty of Amity and Commerce that in 1858 had opened selected ports to Western settlement. Rather, “they came in reality to conduct trade.” Hayashi continued:

“Today, among the many encounters of Japanese with foreigners, we meet those who convey to us literature, those who teach us of arts and technologies, those who preach to us of laws, those who demonstrate to us military affairs. But all of these are merely secondary extensions of foreign intercourse. What foreigners above all have their sights on is solely the pursuit of profit through trade – this goes without question. Therefore, to sit on the sidelines and watch as foreigners monopolize our trading rights is to betray our duty as Japanese. Once we have lost our trading rights, we will become dependent upon the foreigners; we will borrow their capital; we will serve their companies. Or else, falling into the vice of inviting foreigners into our own companies, revering them, treating them as superior, running around at their beck and call, we inflict the greatest of harms upon our country. In this state of affairs, our country will no longer be our country. And if our country is no longer our country, our arts and sciences will have no purpose. This, in our opinion, is why entering into business is the most urgent of our duties. We will dedicate ourselves singularly to business; we will establish commercial laws for Japan; we will gain our autonomy.”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> The charter, along with other documents relating to the firm’s founding, was published in 1873. See *Maruya shōsha no ki* 丸屋商社之記 (Yokohama: Maruya Zempachi., 1873). It is included also in see *Maruzen hyakunenshi: Nihon kindai no ayumi to tomo ni* 丸善百年史——日本近代化の歩みとともに, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1981), pp.1-4.

<sup>60</sup> 「抑も外国人の我国に来るは唯和親のために非ず、其実は貿易を行はんがためなり、現今外人の我国人に接する趣を見るに文学を伝る者あり、技術工芸を教る者あり、法を講ずる者あり、武を演ずる者ありと雖とも是等は皆外国交際の技末にて彼の大眼目は唯貿易に由て利益を求るの一事に在ること固より論を俟たず、然るに今この貿易商売の権を外人に占られ坐してこれを傍観するは日本人たる我輩の義務に背くと云ふ可し、一度ひ貿易の権を失ひ彼に致され彼に依頼し彼の元金を借り彼の社中に役せられ或は我社中に彼の国人を招きこれを尊びこれを仰ぎ其指令の下に奔走する等の勢に陥ることあらば国の災害これより大なるはなし、斯の如きは則ち国其国に非ずと云ふも可なり、国其国に非ざれば文学技術も用を為すに處なかる可し、是即ち我輩の所見にて商売を至重至大の急務と為し///我身は専ら商売に従事し、日本国の商法をして独立の地位を得せしめ」. See *Maruzen hyakunenshi: Nihon kindai no ayumi to tomo ni* 丸善百年史——日本近代化の歩みとともに, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1981), pp. 1-2.

Concluding, Hayashi rallied together his employees with a borrowed American call:

“United we stand, divided we fall.”<sup>61</sup>

Hayashi’s business began modestly. The earliest books he sold were all taken from his own private library of Dutch and English texts, and after that, his stock appears to have been borrowed on commission from other booksellers, notably the Edo-based Okadaya Kashichi 岡田屋嘉七 and Izumiya Kin’uemon 和泉屋金右衛門, both of whom had been involved as publishers of Fukuzawa’s works.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, despite his invective against foreign traders, it appears that Hayashi also conducted business by purchasing and reselling books from none other than John Hartley himself, although these same records indicate that he came into frequent conflict with Hartley over “unscrupulous business practices” whose specific nature is unclear.<sup>63</sup>

But Hayashi enjoyed an advantage that Hartley did not have: the vigorous support of Japan’s intellectual and political elite. Fukuzawa, above all, wrote constantly to friends and acquaintances in order to secure investments to shore up Z.P. Maruya & Co. during its early struggling years.<sup>64</sup> Through Fukuzawa, too, Hayashi was introduced to key officials involved in the establishment of Japan’s new public schooling system, turning Maruya into one of the main providers of textbooks and scientific apparatuses for Japan’s

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<sup>61</sup> 「合衆国の銘に曰く合すれば即ち立ち、散れば即ち幣ると」. See *Maruzen hyakunenshi: Nihon kindai no ayumi to tomo ni* 丸善百年史——日本近代化の歩みとともに, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1981), p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Satō Takashi 佐藤孝, “Shin bunmei no yunyū shōsha Hayashi Yūteki 新文明の輸入商・早矢仕有的,” pp. 107-38.

<sup>63</sup> Amano Hiromu 天野宏, “Maruzen to kusuri 丸善と薬,” *Gakutō* 學鑑 99, no. 1 (2002): p. 18; “Hayashi Yūteki nenpu 早矢仕有的年譜,” *Gakutō* 學鑑 100, no. 8 (2005): p. 35.

<sup>64</sup> Sakai Tatsurō 坂井達朗, “Maruya shōsha to Fukuzawa Yukichi Hayashi Yūteki Nakamura Dōta: Shin shiryō rokugatsu nijūni niche hidzuke Fukuzawa shokan-chū no ‘sanzen’ ryō o megutte 丸屋商社と福沢諭吉・早矢仕有的・中村道太——新史料六月二十二日付け福沢書簡中の「三千」両をめぐって,” *Gakutō* 學鑑 96, no. 1 (Jan., 1999): pp. 10-13.

schools.<sup>65</sup> At the same time, Hayashi became heavily involved in the administrative life of Yokohama, taking a role in several public works projects.<sup>66</sup> These connections were not only useful for securing orders. They were also useful in enforcing payment. When, in 1872, one prefectural official remained delinquent in compensating Hayashi for the delivery of several English-Japanese dictionaries, Hayashi contacted the governor of the prefecture – his friend – to pressure the official for the due sum.<sup>67</sup>

By 1873, three years after its founding, Z.P. Maruya & Co. had successfully expanded to Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. In the meantime, Hayashi had forged contacts with booksellers abroad, particularly in San Francisco and New York. Developing a catalog that would meet the tastes of the modernizing elites who were his patrons, Z.P. Maruya & Co. came to specialize in “textbooks for schools, especially those of the greatest use for the general public.”<sup>68</sup> By the early 1880s, he kept a regular stock of some 1200 books, mostly English, with a smaller selection of French and German, dedicated especially to introductions to the natural sciences and political economy.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Sakai Tatsurō 坂井達朗, “Hayashi Yūteki to Kuki Takayoshi: Fukuzawa o meguru jinmyaku 早矢仕有的と九鬼隆義——福沢をめぐると人脈,” *Gakutō* 學鐙 98, no. 1 (2001): pp. 8-13; Tamaki Norio 玉置紀夫, “Gō sureba sunawachi tachi: Fukuzawa Yukichi to Hayashi Yūteki no kōpātonāshipu 合すれば即ち立ち——福沢諭吉と早矢仕有的のコパートナーシップ,” *Gakutō* 學鐙 98, no. 1 (2001): pp. 14-17.

<sup>66</sup> For Hayashi’s involvement in Yokohama public works, see the letters transcribed in Satō Takashi 佐藤孝, “Hayashi Yūteki no kenkyū: *Kojin kōyū chō* no bunseki 1 早矢仕有的の研究——『故人交友帖』の分析（一）,” *Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan kiyō* 横浜開港資料館紀要 17, no. 3 (1999): pp. 42-61.

<sup>67</sup> “Hayashi Yūteki nenpu 早矢仕有的年譜,” *Gakutō* 學鐙 100, no. 8 (2005): p. 35.

<sup>68</sup> 「此書目ニ記載ノ書籍ハ多ク諸学校ノ教科書ニテ最モ能ク世間ニテ御用ヒノ書ヲ撰ミ清々揃置」. *A Select List of General Works Comprising English, French and German* (Yokohama: Z.P. Maruya & Co., 1883).

<sup>69</sup> Mukai Akira 向井晃, “Yōsho no yunyū: Bakumatsu-Meijiiki o chūshin ni 洋書の輸入——幕末・明治期を中心に——,” in *Yokohama kyoryūchi to ibunka kōryū: 19-seiki kōhan no kokusai toshi o yomu* 横浜居留地と異文化交流——19世紀後半の国際都市を読む——, ed. Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan Yokohama Kyoryūchi Kenkyūkai 横浜開港資料館・横浜居留地研究会 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1996), p. 264.

The attitude of mercantile nationalism exemplified by Hayashi in the founding of Z.P. Maruya & Co. must therefore be understood as a key factor in the decline of firms such as Hartley's. And in a sense, Hartley's later actions only served to prove Hayashi's point about the dangers of foreign traders. An inveterate profiteer, Hartley turned away from books, and toward opium.

Yet before we rush to castigate Hartley, one final consideration of the opium case is necessary. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1858, signed between Japan and the United States and thereafter extended to the major European powers, contained a ban on opium in its fourth article, with the exception of medicinal opium, which could be imported in the amount of up to one catty, or approximately 1 1/3 pounds.

Though his 20 pounds well exceeded this limit, Hartley's main line of justification against charges of smuggling had been that his opium was intended for medicinal use, and that this very idea had been placed in his mind by Japanese authorities. Specifically, certain contacts at the Naval Hospital, he claimed, had intimated to him that domestically-produced opium was of insufficient quality for medicinal usage, and thus that they would be much obliged if Hartley could find some way to bring medicine-grade opium into the country.<sup>70</sup>

The veracity of Hartley's claim is unclear. His alleged Japanese contacts, for their part, denied any such intimation. But we do know that there was in fact a shortage of medicinal opium in Japan, especially in the wake of the Satsuma Rebellion. And we know, too, that in 1872-73, Hartley had been conducting periodic business with the Naval Hospital, as well as with multiple other branches of the Naval Ministry at large, including

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<sup>70</sup> For the detailed proceedings, see the contents of folder FO 46/360, 1878 May to 1879 March, National Archives, UK.

the Yokohama shipyard. Scattered receipts indicate that he supplied them with maps and books on medicine and naval strategy, as well as instruments such as microscopes, though never, so far as remaining sources go, with pharmaceutical items.<sup>71</sup>

It is therefore not impossible to believe that one of his contacts at the Naval Hospital, cognizant of Hartley's activities as a druggist, made a suggestion, even if only informally and privately, that dealing in medicinal-grade opium might be a profitable venture for both parties. On these grounds, Hartley's first trial in consular court, beginning in January of 1878, acquitted him of smuggling. Meanwhile, as the trial was proceeding, another hidden shipment of opium, this time around 15 pounds, arrived in Yokohama for Hartley. Dissatisfied with the results of the first trial, Japanese authorities pressured the British Consular Court for a second. This time, Hartley was found guilty, leading to a hefty fine and the seizure of his property.<sup>72</sup>

Hartley lingered a little while longer in Japan, though there was no more business for him to be had: he found himself squarely boycotted by all Japanese clients. In a letter to the British consul dated Feb. 2, 1879, Hartley declared that he would be discontinuing all business in Japan, and heading home.<sup>73</sup> He did so later that April, leaving, per his own words, "in forma pauperis...dependent for food on the charity of friends."<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> 必用の書籍荷欄人へ定約云々操練所申出, Meiji 3, *Honshō kōbun*, vol. 17, National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan.

<sup>72</sup> "The Opium Case," *Japan Weekly Mail*, 23 Feb. 1878, pp. 175-76; "The Opium Case," *Japan Weekly Mail*, 23 Feb. 1878, pp. 175-76; "In H.B.M.'s Court, Kanagawa," *Japan Daily Herald*, 8 Apr. 1878; "Contraband Opium," *Japan Daily Herald*, 10 April 1878.

<sup>73</sup> B-7-1-3-5 *Jon, Hātorī yori no songaikin yōshō ni kansuru ken* ション、ハートリー」ヨリノ損害金要償ニ関スル件, Meiji 10.2, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.

<sup>74</sup> FO 46/362, C058-061, Despatch No 59 dated 2 April 1880 from J G Kennedy, Chargé d'Affaires, Yedo to The Most Honorable the Marquis of Salisbury KG etc., National Archives, UK.

Back in London, he continued to maintain that he had been put up to importing opium by the Japanese themselves. The Foreign Office had little interest. On copies of his letters that were circulated through the Foreign Office, we find scribbled advisory notes such as the following: “This poor man appears to be mad. I would not reply”;<sup>75</sup> “Foolish remarks, exposing the ignorance of the writer. Insane. No notice.”<sup>76</sup> Writing in September 1880 to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Hartley resorted to begging. “I am destitute,” he sobbed, “without money, employment and by a creditor banished from the society of my wife and children because I am unable to pay the creditor my wife’s father.” On the back of this letter, the Foreign Office has noted, “This unfortunate man is insane.”<sup>77</sup>

Whether or not John Hartley had really fallen into a state of delusion, whether or not his protests of innocence were the mask for a deeper guilt – all of these questions are perhaps less interesting than a far more basic observation. By 1880, John Hartley had become obsolete for Japan. He had become obsolete, because the political economy of knowledge he represented had been displaced, filled in now by merchants such as Hayashi Yūteki, who stood for a commitment to mercantile nationalism as the basis of economic activity.

Enlightenment is not only the textual study of ideas. It is also the study of how the economic objects that carry ideas circulate. In the opening years of Japan’s “civilization

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<sup>75</sup> FO 46/362, C093-094, Letter dated 22 May 1880 from John Hartley on board the P & O Steamer Ceylon off Brindisi to The Secretary of the Foreign Office, Downing Street, Westminster, National Archives, UK.

<sup>76</sup> FO 46/362, C148-149, Letter dated 6 Aug 1881 from JH at Chaverston House, Nicholson Road, Addiscombe, Croydon, addressed to the Most Honourable the Earl Granville, KG, PC, HM’s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, National Archives, UK.

<sup>77</sup> FO 46/362, C179-182, Letter dated 14 September 1880 from JH at 91 Clifton St, Finsbury to the Right Honourable the Earl Granville, Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Downing Street, National Archives, UK.

and enlightenment,” dealers such as Hartley were necessary in order to gain access to the wealth of imported books promising new Western knowledge. It was through him that the Kaisei Gakkō acquired its *Elementary Moral Lessons*, and its textbooks by Francis Wayland. It was through him that some of the first Japanese-language newspapers were founded in Yokohama and Osaka. Hartley likely cared not a whit for his effect on the Japanese intellectual world. Yet he had one none the same.

It is a lesson that Hartley himself seems to have forgotten. Writing again to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1880, Hartley complained of a “Japanese cunning” at work in the public sphere that sought to “magnify the opium import and degrade the importer.” How did they degrade him? Hartley offered an example. “The Tokio Times,” he lamented, “has reduced me to a bookseller!”<sup>78</sup>

### **Jakob, Jacques, or the Rogue as Educator**

Hartley sold Western-language books. But what of those who wrote them and taught from them? The question leads us into the literature on “hired foreign experts” (御雇い外国人) in Japan – a literature that, while prolific, perhaps tends to offer too sanitized an image of the nineteenth-century world.<sup>79</sup> Privileging the lives of prominent Western figures in Japan, this historiography distorts a far messier and more complex landscape of rogues, charlatans, and general miscreants who, seeing in Japan newly opened an opportunity, came to make a profit, and wound up generating new forms of

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<sup>78</sup> FO46/362, C169-172, Letter dated 31 August 1880 from JH at 91 Clifton St, Finsbury to the Right Honourable the Earl Granville, Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, National Archives, UK.

<sup>79</sup> Currently, the definitive work on hired foreign experts in Meiji Japan is Umetani Noboru, *O-yatoi gaikokujin no kenkyū*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Seishi shuppan, 2010). On the way in which the “hired foreign expert” has been idealized, see Morris Low, “The Butterfly and the Frigate: Social Studies of Science in Japan,” *Social Studies of Science* 19, no. 2 (1989): pp. 328-29.

modern knowledge. Following the example of Hartley's engagement with bookselling and opium smuggling, we turn here now to the case of one other figure, Jakob Kaderli, whose checkered résumé offers a new glimpse at the underside that drove the nineteenth century "long history of Enlightenment" in Asia.

The sanctity with which current scholars narrate the history of "foreign experts" is paralleled by the deference with which scholars treat the history of the modern university in Japan – seen as a triumphant stronghold of knowledge, rather than the improvised and often piecemeal institution that it was. To understand Kaderli's role, then, we must first understand the chaos of the early Meiji period, and in particular the hurdles faced in attempting to construct institutions of higher education that might parallel those of modern Western universities.

Indeed, the misidentification of pre-Meiji higher educational formations as "universities" had marked a point of serendipitous discord, as well as humorous irony, for some bakumatsu observers. Detailing to his brother the news of Perry's first arrival in 1853, Tsuboi Shinryō recounted a confusion over the proper interpretation of the term *daigaku no kami* (大学頭), the title bestowed upon the head of the Hayashi family in his capacity as administrator of the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo. Tsuboi wrote,

When [Perry's embassy] had an audience with Hayashi *daigaku no kami*, they were extremely deferential to him. This was because they made the error of understanding the name *daigaku no kami* to be their equivalent of *hooggeleerde heer* [i.e., professor]. Since a *hooggeleerde heer*, in the West, also acts as a political consultant, it is an extremely high title. To make the lucky draw of hitting upon this superficial semblance of words was an extreme convenience at the time.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Tsuboi Shinryō to Sado Miyoshi, Ansei 1.2.16 [1854], in *Bakumatsu ishin fūun tsūshin: Ran'i Tsuboi Shinryō kakei-ate shokan-shū*, pp. 64-65. 「先日渡来度々林大学頭殿応対之度、彼ニテも大ニ林氏ヲ



Although Tsuboi did not specify his own definition of *daigaku no kami*, it is evident from the passage that he conceived of the term as being sufficiently distinct from the Dutch title for “professor.” Analogously, it follows that the Gakumonjo was, for Tsuboi at least, not comparable with the Western institution of the university – though allowing for such a misinterpretation, he implied, could certainly be beneficial for Japan.

Just what was, then, a Western university? Perhaps one of the earliest and most systematic attempts to explain the Western university to East Asian audiences occurred at the founding of the London Missionary Society’s Anglo-Chinese College in 1818. In a speech to students and supporters, William Milne (1785-1822), then acting headmaster, portrayed a progressive course of study that moved from “school,” to “academy,” to “college,” and then to “university.” By Milne’s own admission, these terms possessed varied histories, the legacy of which entailed that multiple meanings were possible. Still, if one aimed to be consistent with educational models of the day, “school” meant above all a “company of children,” “academy” signified “institutions where the rudiments of letters are taught,” and “college” comprised “associations of religious and learned” practicing a specific “art or trade.” The university was the summation of this – in particular, a “collection of Colleges,” each with their own specialty, thereby representing the total assembly of knowledge.<sup>81</sup>

The criterion was thus one of organizational structure and disciplinary coverage – a criterion to which Japanese institutions such as the Institute for the Investigation of

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尊敬仕候趣。是ハ無他、大学頭之名ヲ彼邦之ホークレーテール之事と相心得申候之間違之由也。西洋ニテハ、ホークレーテールハ政事ニモ関係参議有之故、至テ高爵之由。右之字面ニ引当、左心得候も一時之大都合ニ御坐候」

<sup>81</sup> *A Brief Statement of the Objects of the Anglo-Chinese College, at Malacca; with the Substance of a Speech delivered at the Laying of the Foundation Stone, on the 11<sup>th</sup> November, 1818* (Malacca: Anglo-Chinese Press, 1818), p. 5

Barbarian Books certainly did not conform. As detailed in the previous chapter, the Institute's function within the Tokugawa governmental apparatus resulted in day-to-day activities closer to those of an intelligence agency rather than an educational institution formed around disciplinary inquiry. Instructors themselves were continually occupied with bakufu-mandated translation projects, leaving them little to no time to engage with students.<sup>82</sup> The development of a standard curriculum was further stunted by the Japan-U.S. treaty negotiations of 1858, which led to the temporary closure of the Institute and its repurposing as housing for Townsend Harris. Revealingly, Harris referred to his lodgings as "a kind of Foreign Office." The Institute, in his eyes, too, was not to be mistaken for a university.<sup>83</sup>

Curricular reform and institutional reorganization were thus necessary in order to transform the Institute into an apparatus that we, by our modern standards, might recognizably acknowledge as a university. But such change was slow, and an unhappy state of affairs persisted heading into the 1860s. The 1861 diary of the naturalist Itō Keisuke 伊藤圭介 (1803-1901) indicates that despite having been appointed an instructor, he rarely ever had the time to give lessons.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, Terashima Munenori, who would later on become Japan's Foreign Minister during the Hartley Opium trials, reminisced later in a letter to a German friend that during his time as a student at the Kaiseijo, he

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<sup>82</sup> See Katō Hiroyuki, "Bansho shirabesho ni tsuite," *Shigaku zasshi* 20, no. 7 (1909), in *Katō Hiroyuki bunsho*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Dōmeisha shuppan, 1990), pp. 80-93, esp. 83-85.

<sup>83</sup> See *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris: First American Consul and Minister to Japan*, ed. Mario Emilio Cosenza (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1930), p. 443, 491.

<sup>84</sup> See Keisuke monjo kenkyūkai, eds., *Itō Keisuke nikki*, vol. 8 (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Tōzan shokubutsuen, 1995).

“learned only very little, for only the method of Chinese science was in use.”<sup>85</sup> Itō’s, Terashima’s, and corresponding reports by others make it easy to understand why Hayashi Gakusai 林学斎 (1833-1906), who had succeeded his father Fukusai as *daigaku no kami*, argued for reform. “It is our understanding,” he wrote, “that the attendance of staff and students is not in order. I therefore advise that rules and regulations be established as soon as possible.”<sup>86</sup>

Reforms finally occurred over the course of 1862-63. The Institute was officially renamed the Kaiseijo (開成所), and, in addition to new policies on attendance, library usage, as well as an expansion of the institute’s grounds, there came a revision of the curriculum: the addition of English and French to parallel courses in Dutch. On account of these reforms, instructors were, by 1865, openly using the terms “académie” and “scholen,” to designate the Kaiseijo.<sup>87</sup> Never, however, did they invoke the term “university.”

There is good reason to believe, however, that these reforms in reality produced few of their intended effects. Bakufu officials boasted to foreign visitors in mid-1862 that the Kaiseijo would enroll “more than a thousand youths,” but Megata Tanetarō 目賀田種太郎 (1853-1926), who entered the Kaiseijo in 1863, described an institution so starved for students that admission was virtually guaranteed so long as one showed up on time

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<sup>85</sup> „da habe ich nur wenig gelernt habe, weil man noch immer die Methode für die chinesische Wissenschaft angewendet habe [sic].“ Quoted in Terashima Munenori, “Terashima Munenori jijoden,” *Denki* 3, no. 4-6 (1936).

<sup>86</sup> 「開成所御出入並稽古人出席等不取締之趣ニも相聞候ニ付早々取締方規則相建可被申聞候事」. See Seki, “Hayashi-ke,” p. 25.

<sup>87</sup> See the European-language letters of 1865 collected in Yamagishi Mitsunobu, ed., *Bakumatsu yōgakusha ōbun shū* (Tokyo: Kōbunsō, 1940), esp. letters of Kawamoto Kōmin (“in académie te yedo”), Hori Tatsunosuke (“onze Européische [sic] scholen”), Kobayashi Seijūrō (l’Académie en Yedo), and Irie Bunrō (“le collègue Français de Caïssaijo”).

for an entrance interview.<sup>88</sup> Four years later, in 1867, Koenraad Wolter Gratama (1831-88), who had been hired to teach Chemistry at the Kaiseijo, explained in a letter home that he had “not yet any specific work, since there is neither any place to hold lessons, nor to perform [chemical] analyses.” His days were spent, instead, demonstrating the operation of a sewing machine to Tokugawa officials.<sup>89</sup> Gratama joked that his role at the Kaiseijo was less that of a Chemistry instructor, and more of a “universal oracle” for the miscellaneous inquiries of his colleagues.<sup>90</sup>

The tumult of the Meiji Restoration exacerbated the situation. The Kaiseijo was closed indefinitely at start of the Restoration, and in the ensuing chaos, changes in higher education proceeded only in the most fitful of starts and stops. Verbeck, in a letter of December 1868, mentioned a trip “to Osaka [sic] to take charge of the Imperial University there,” but no such institution ever materialized; he was soon relocated to Edo to await further instructions.<sup>91</sup> In the end, the new Meiji government chose to rehabilitate the Kaiseijo, keeping in place the same language studies curriculum – English, French, and German Studies – save the conspicuous removal of Dutch as an option.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Entry for Monday, June 16, 1862, in Francis Hall., *Japan through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama, 1859-1866*, ed. Fred G. Notehelfer (Princeton: PUP, 1992), p. 428. Ko-Megata Danshaku Denki henshūkai 故目賀田男爵伝記編纂会, ed., *Danshaku Megata Shutarō* 男爵目賀田種太郎 (Tokyo: 1938), pp. 13-14.

<sup>89</sup> See Letter 19, Koenraad Wolter Gratama to Jan Gratama, 9 Junij 1867, in *Leraar onder de Japanners. Brieven van dr. K.W. Gratama betreffende zijn verblijf in Japan, 1866-1871*, ed. H. Beukers, L. Blussé, R. Eggink (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987). “Tot dusverre heb ik nog geen bepaalde bezigheid gehad, omdat er geen lokaal is, noch om les te geven, noch om analyses te maken. Ik heb de Japanners in dien tijd met de meest verschillende dingen geholpen. Een van de vreemdste is, dat ik les heb gegeven en nog geef in het naayen....”

<sup>90</sup> Letter 21, K.W. Gratama to J. Gratama, 25 Julij 1867, in *Leraar onder de Japanners*.

<sup>91</sup> Guido F. Verbeck to J.M. Ferris, 18 December 1868 (Gardner A. Sage Library, 743/1/1).

<sup>92</sup> The official name upon rehabilitation changed to Daigaku Nankō (大学南校). Names however, were fickle at this time, and the term Kaiseijo persisted in popular use. Furthermore, lest there be any confusion, the term *daigaku* referred not to a “university” in Milne’s sense, but to an early Meiji administrative apparatus roughly equivalent in function to what would later become the Ministry of Education.

The confusion of these early Meiji years meant that little effective supervision existed at the Kaiseijo. Above all, this lack of supervision created problems in personnel management. Foreigners of all rank and file were hired and fired in ceaseless cycles, with little to no attention to their qualifications for instruction. Arriving to Yokohama in 1871, the German doctor Benjamin Karl Leopold Müller (1822-93) found a scene of confusion:

There was the so-called Kaiseijo, an establishment that should have represented a real high school [*Gymnasium*], and which consisted of one English, one French, and one German section... The faculty was thrown together from men of all possible ranks and nationalities; among them were, other than the already-named chef and brewer, an apothecary, a farmer, a sailor, a shipbuilder, etc.; there was even talk once of taking up a circus clown to teach physical education – something, by the way, not so outrageous, when one discovers that another man who performed a while at the same circus had already been hired as a language instructor. No discrimination was made. He who came to Japan who was of no use, and unable to find employ anywhere – he would find it ever more secure to obtain a position as instructor at the Kaiseijo, or a similar establishment.<sup>93</sup>

Concluding, Müller claimed that among the foreign community, a humorous nickname had emerged for the Kaiseijo: the “Asylum for the Homeless” (*Asyl für Obdachlose*).<sup>94</sup>

Exaggerated though his account may seem, Müller was not wholly incorrect in his assessment. Many a picaresque biography was to be found among the foreign staff of the

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<sup>93</sup> Benjamin Karl Leopold Müller: *Tokio Igaku, Skizzen und Erinnerungen aus der Zeit des geistigen Umschwunges in Japan, 1871–1876*, in *Deutsche Rundschau Herausgegeben von Julius Rosenberg*. Band LVII (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1888), p. 446. “Dar war vor Allem das sogenannte Kaisedjo, eine Anstalt, das ein Gymnasium repräsentiren sollte und aus einer englischen, einer französischen und einer deutschen Abtheilung bestand... Das Lehrercollegium war aus allen möglichen Ständen und Nationen zusammengewürfelt; es waren darin, außer dem bereits genannten Commis und Bierbrauer, Apotheker, Landleute, Seemänner, Schiffbauer, &c: ja einmal war sogar die Rede davon, den Clown eines Circus als Turnlehrer in jene Körperschaft aufzunehmen, was übrigens gar nichts so Ungeheuerliches hatte, wenn man erfährt, daß bereits ein Mensch, der bei demselben Circus eine Zeitlang aufgetreten, als Sprachlehrer angestellt worden war. Eine Auswahl wurde nicht getroffen; wer nach Japan kam, durchaus sonst zu Nichts zu brauchen war und nirgends ein Unterkommen finden konnte, der war noch immer ziemlich sicher, eine Stellung als Lehrer am Kaisedjo oder einer ähnlichen Anstalt zu erlangen.”

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.*

early Kaiseijo, and scholars today continue to acknowledge that the first wave of instructors were “unqualified and...opportunistic... butchers, sailors (drunk and sober), braumeisters, and other frauds.”<sup>95</sup> It is from out of this motley crew that we finally arrive at the biography of Jakob Kaderli (1827-74) – or, as he appeared in some sources, Jacques Kaderly.

Born in Switzerland in the canton of Bern, Kaderli appears to have spent much of his youth in poverty, working as a farm hand. At the age of 21, he became a mercenary, and fought as a soldier in Napels in the wars there that lasted from 1848-49. After the conflict ended, Kaderli remained in Napels, acting as a household tutor in German and French. With the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, Kaderli lent his services to the French, obtaining during his participation in the conflict a moderate grasp of English. In 1856, at the age of 29, he left Constantinople to explore Russia. After a brief stay in St. Petersburg, Kaderli found himself headed to Warsaw, where he again made ends meet by acting as a home tutor. It appears, however, that during this time he came into serious conflict with the French consul in Warsaw. Though the details of their quarrel are unknown, the outcome is: Kaderli had his privilege of French protection, as a Swiss citizen, revoked. Unable to remain peacefully in Warsaw, Kaderli packed his bags and left again for adventure.

At first he headed west, using the English he had acquired during the Crimean War to travel across England, Scotland, and Ireland. But the notion of a journey eastward continued to exert its pull upon him, leading him to abandon Britain after a year's stay

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<sup>95</sup> Hazel Jones, *Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980), p. 38; Fujita Tōichirō 藤田東一郎, “Daigaku nankō no hito kenkyū 大学南校の一研究,” in *Meiji no shin kenkyū*, ed. Osatake Takeki 尾佐竹猛 (Tokyo: Ajia shobō, 1944), pp. 201-32.

and set off once more in the direction of Russia. From 1861 until 1863, Kaderli wandered around the Ural region, working partly as a tutor, but also taking on a job in mining, and later on enrolling in courses in engineering. Then, in 1863, he made up his mind to head to the Far East. These travels – amounting to a period of five years – are not documented, either in Kaderli’s own accounts, or in those of acquaintances who wrote about him. The next news we have of Kaderli finds him at the mouth of the Amur River in 1868, where he served as a household tutor in Nikolayevsk in the spring and summer.<sup>96</sup>

And so it was that Jakob Kaderli arrived in Japan in the winter of 1869 and, after two months of odd jobs in Yokohama, found refuge at the Kaiseijo – Müller’s “Asylum for the Homeless” – where he was hired as an instructor of German on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January, 1870. Not only was Kaderli the government’s first foreign instructor of German, receiving a handsome sum of \$300 Mexican per month for his efforts, he was, in fact, among the first round of foreign instructors ever hired in Japan.

In his time at the Kaiseijo, Kaderli’s classroom saw some of Japan’s brightest luminaries, including Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 (1836-1916), Niwa Tōkichirō 丹羽藤吉郎 (1856-1930), later Professor of Chemistry and Tokyo Imperial University, and Shiba Ryōkai 司馬凌海 (1840-79), a student of medicine who had studied under the

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<sup>96</sup> The details of this biography are taken from the following: A. Walther, “Jakob Kaderli 1827-1874,” in Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern, ed., *Sammlung bernischer Biographien*, vol. 3 (1898), pp. 363-76; Shirooka Keiji, “Der erste ausländische Deutschlehrer im sich modernisierenden Japan: Jakob Kaderli (1827-1874),” *Studies in Humanities* 62, no. 2 (2012): pp. 105-26; Shirooka Keiji 城岡啓二, “Nihon saisho no Doitsu-go o-yatoi kyōshi Kaderurī (1827-1874) to iu hito: Suisu no hinnō no umare, yōhei, katei kyōshi, bōken ryokō-ka, ‘kōbutsugaku kyōju’ 日本最初のドイツ語お雇い教師カデルリー (1827-1874) というひと : スイスの貧農の生まれ、傭兵、家庭教師、冒険旅行家、「鉱物学教授」,” *Jinbun ronshū* 人文論集 57, no. 2 (2007): pp. 151-96; Shirooka Keiji 城岡啓二 and Obatake Natsuko 大畑夏子, “O-yatoi Doitsu kyōshi Kaderurī ga Kanada de kaita Suisu-jin nyūshoku yoteichi no genchi chōsa hōkoku (1873) o yomu お雇いドイツ語教師カデルリーがカナダで書いたスイス人入植予定地の現地調査報告 (1873) を読む,” *Jinbun ronshū* 人文論集 62, no. 1 (2011): pp. 123-66.

aforementioned Pompe van Meedervoort, and was now hoping to turn his attention to German medicine. More importantly, however, Kaderli authored Japan's first textbooks for the German language – a grammar book and a separate reader – as well as an introduction to world geography in German. Together with one of his students, Aihara Shigemasa, he also began to compile a German-Japanese dictionary, although this latter work never materialized. The two language textbooks were published in 1870, under the titles *Die ersten Lectionen des deutschen Sprachunterrichts*, in three volumes, and *Lehrbuch der deutschen Sprache für die höhern Classen der kaiserlich-japanischen Akademie Daigaku Nanko*. The geography no longer exists, but it appears in Meiji catalogues as *Kanpan Doitsu chirisho* 官版独逸地理書 (1872).

Visually, Kaderli's textbooks appear to us crude. They were first printed in-house using a Stanhope press operated by Daigaku Nankō students, and it is clear not only that these students lacked experience as compositors – there are numerous errors and inconsistencies of orthography, particularly the confusion of “i” and “j” – but that the printing house itself also lacked adequate resources. We find, for instance, a mixture of three different types used indiscriminately together on the same form as the compositors ran out of letters.<sup>97</sup> Though the original intention seems to have been to only print a sufficient number of copies for students at the Daigaku Nankō, a large number of queries from outside the school led to a second print run for commercial sale.<sup>98</sup>

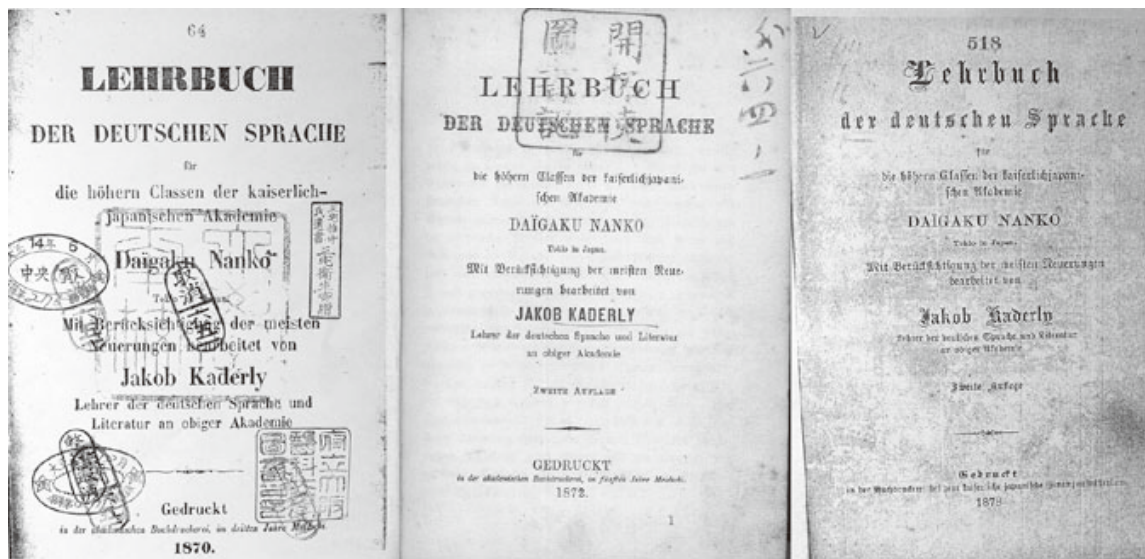
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<sup>97</sup> In Fraktur, “i” and “j” are the same, but they are different in the Antiqua-esque type also used once they ran out of Fraktur letters. An errata list in the *Die ersten Lectionen*, p. 55, lists 22 errors, averaging out to one per page. In practice, however, the majority of errors all occur with the Antiqua-esque type, suggesting that the student compositors had familiarity with Fraktur, but not with Roman – in short, that they could read German, but probably not English or French.

<sup>98</sup> Kaderli himself estimates that only forty copies were produced in the first print run. Jakob Kaderly, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Sprache für die höhern Classen der kaiserlich-japanischen Akademie Daigaku Nanko* (Tokyo: Kaiserlich-japanischen Akademischen Buchdruckerei, 1870), p. 522.



Despite their crudeness, then, Kaderli's textbooks seemed to have enjoyed relative popularity in the years of early Meiji, in particular his *Lehrbuch*. The *Lehrbuch* was translated and printed in 1872 by Nakamura Yūkichi.<sup>99</sup> That same year, portions of the *Lehrbuch* were partially reprinted without Kaderli's permission by the in-house press at the Daigaku Nankō. In 1878, the Ministry of Finance also reprinted their own copy.<sup>100</sup> Finally, in 1886, came the final reprint of Kaderli's *Lehrbuch*, after which it was superseded by the availability of professional grammars such as those by Albert Schaefer and Gottfried Gurke.



4.3 Jakob Kaderli's German textbooks: Kaderli's original *Lehrbuch*, and the 1872 partial reprint and 1878 Ministry of Finance reprint. National Diet Library.

Survival rates and reader marks indicate that Nakamura's Japanese translation of Kaderli found the widest and most enduring audience. Copies of the 1872 edition

<sup>99</sup> Jakob Kaderly, *Doitsu bunten chokuyaku* 独逸文典直訳, tr. Nakamura Yūkichi 中村雄吉 (Tokyo: Seishindō, 1872).

<sup>100</sup> The only surviving copy of the Ministry of Finance printing is in the NDL. 66-28 (洋), Jakob Kaderly, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Sprache für die höhern Classen der kaiserlich-japanischen Akademie Daigaku Nankō, Tokio in Japan, mit Berücksichtigung der moisten Neuerungen bearbeitet von Jakob Kaderly, Lehrer der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an obiger Akademie. Zweite Auflage. Gedruckt in der Buchdruckerei bei dem kaiserliche japanische Finanzministerium.* (Tokyo: Kaiserliche Japanische Finanzministerium, 1878).

remained in use as late as 1884, and its publisher, Seishindō, included it in his catalogue until at least 1888.<sup>101</sup> One copy also bears a seal indicating that it was purchased by the Ministry of the Interior in June of 1886, revealing that over a decade and a half later, Kaderli's textbook still had its supporters.<sup>102</sup>

Kaderli was not around in Japan to see most of these unauthorized reprints, but we can be sure that he would have been incensed. He abruptly terminated his contract with the Kaiseijo at the end of 1871, and at the roots of this decision was a protracted conflict over compensation for his textbooks. As documented across six months in the diary of the Swiss consul Caspar Brennenwald, who acted as liaison between Kaderli and various Japanese government ministries, Kaderli appears to have pressured Japanese authorities repeatedly for a monetary reward that corresponded to the time spent in preparing these texts. According to his contract, Kaderli maintained, he was only to provide six hours of instruction in German per day, with a rest day on Sundays. In appeals to the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Education, Kaderli demanded an extra \$1750 Mexican, which he believed adequately represented the value of his “extracurricular” textbook efforts. The sum amounted to nearly half of his yearly salary. Refused repeatedly, Kaderli eventually whittled the sum down to \$500 Mexican, only to meet still with rejection. Incensed, Kaderli quit his post, preferring to test his chances elsewhere.<sup>103</sup>

To aid with this transition, Brennenwald negotiated a deal with his friend Takashima Kaemon, who had expressed interest in starting a private academy in

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<sup>101</sup> Bunko-8-C837, *Doitsu bunten chokuyaku*, Waseda University Library.

<sup>102</sup> See the copy 43-105 (洋) in the National Diet Library.

<sup>103</sup> *Kōbunroku* and *Dajōruiten*, Brennenwald diaries

Yokohama. Thus, following his two years at the Kaiseijo, Kaderli moved on to teach German and French for six months under Takashima. Ironically enough, however, around this very same time, Takashima was having his own troubles with Hayashi Yūteki. Having ordered a large stock of books and scientific apparatuses for his new academy, Takashima found himself unable to pay. Yūteki threatened to use his contacts and force the academy into closure. The two appear thereafter to have reached an agreement, but not before Kaderli abandoned his post.<sup>104</sup> Left only with distaste in his mouth after both these failed dealings, Kaderli ultimately decided to leave Japan.

And it is here where Kaderli again reinvented himself – only this time, as a scholar and man of science. The Japanese sources terminate with news that Kaderli had departed for San Francisco in late 1872. Yet when we turn to American sources, we find in San Francisco no Jakob Kaderli. Instead, we find a frequent mention of a “Professor Jacques Kaderly,” specialist on the field of Japanese mineralogy. Upon his arrival in San Francisco, Kaderli sold a collection of 1587 different mineral specimens to the museum of the public amusement complex, Woodward’s Gardens, touted as “the first and most complete that has ever been taken from Japanese territory.”<sup>105</sup> Kaderli himself wrote an explanatory note to the published catalogue of his mineral collection, signing it as “Jacques Kaderly, Professor of Natural Sciences, late of the Imperial Academy of Yeddo.” In the note, Kaderly bragged of “visit[ing] and explor[ing] the countries surrounding the open ports of Hakodati, Hiogo, Osaka, Yokohama and Yeddo, and, by special permission of the Japanese Government, parts of the interior of the islands beyond the treaty limits.” As for those places where he had no time to visit, Kaderli described a process of sending

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<sup>104</sup> “Hayashi Yūteki nenpu 早矢仕有的年譜,” *Gakutō* 學鐙 100, no. 8 (2003): pp. 34-37

<sup>105</sup> Benjamin E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1876), p. 326.

“natives, to whom I gave the necessary instructions, how and where to collect.” The result of this painstaking intellectual labor was “a complete representative of Japanese geology and mineralogy.”<sup>106</sup>

Non-Japanese audiences would appear to have taken him at his word. In his study of Japanese shells, the amateur German natural historian Carl Emil Lische named one of his conches *Pleurotoma Kaderleyi*, in honor of the man he believed to be one of founders of Japanese mineralogy.<sup>107</sup> At the same time, Kaderli began to tour the U.S. as a lecturer and professional orientalist, delivering talks on the “Past, Present, and Possible Future of Occidental Culture in China and Japan.”<sup>108</sup> A mercenary and vagabond world traveler had, miraculously, become a scholar.

The fate of Kaderli’s mineral collection is unknown, auctioned off in 1893.<sup>109</sup> What is much more certain, is that his collection was at least in part fraudulent. The deception began, of course, with the very claim that Kaderli was a “professor of Natural Sciences.” At most, Kaderli’s experiences in the mines of the Urals and Siberia may have given him some amateur insight into mineralogical questions. But he certainly had no formal training in the natural sciences, and his position in Japan had never exceeded that of language instructor – a job at which he performed relatively poorly, in any instance.

More importantly, Kaderli’s claim that he collected mineral specimens from across Japan is not borne out by Japanese sources. As Kaderli himself admitted, access to

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<sup>106</sup> *Illustrated Guide and Catalogue of Woodward's Garden* (San Francisco: 1875), p. 40

<sup>107</sup> C.E. Lischke, *Japanische-Meeres-Conchylien: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Mollusken Japan's mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die geologische Verbreitung der selben*, vol. 2 (Cassel: T. Fischer Verlag, 1874). p. 164.

<sup>108</sup> Shirooka, “Nihon saisho,” p. 118.

<sup>109</sup> *Catalogue of the great collection in natural history of the Woodward's Gardens... auction commencing Thursday, April 6, 1893* (San Francisco: Easton, Eldredge & Co., 1893), p. 9.

Japan beyond the limits of treaty ports was, during the period of his stay in Japan, heavily restricted, and contingent upon the permission of government authorities. Since 1870, foreigners traveling outside of designated ports required round-trip passports, issued on grounds of “health, scientific investigation, or urgent business.”<sup>110</sup> The system had emerged as a compromise over extraterritoriality. If foreign subjects were to maintain their extraterritorial privileges throughout the country, as the Great Powers wished, then the Japanese government would do everything in its power to limit foreigner mobility.<sup>111</sup> The records of passport applications have been preserved in their entirety in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Kaderli’s name appears not once, suggesting that he never made any journeys outside of the Tokyo-Yokohama region. Similarly, none of Kaderli’s identified students or colleagues, nor even his consular ally Brennenwald, ever made mention of Kaderli’s interest in geology. Just as his learned title, the mineral collection, too, would appear to have been all part of Kaderli’s lies.

Indeed, it is telling that soon thereafter, Kaderli abandoned his newfound academic career in the sciences and mineralogy. By late 1873, he had emigrated to Canada, where he again refashioned himself – this time as an explorer. Until his death, Kaderli led expeditions primarily into un-surveyed parts of Ontario, including the areas around Nipissing Lake, and later on even farther, out to the Vancouver Islands. These expeditions were funded by the Swiss government, as part of efforts to find possible territories for Swiss overseas settlement. Based off these surveys, “Jacques Kaderly”

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<sup>110</sup> J.E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests 1858-1899* (Sandgate, Folkestone, Kent, UK: Japan library, 1994), p. 47, pp. 93-94.

<sup>111</sup> S. Hirose, "Meiji shonen no tai ôbei kankei to gaikokujin naichi ryokô mondai 明治初年の対欧米関係と外国人内地旅行問題," *Shigaku zasshi* 83, nos. 11, 12 (1875): pp. 1-29 (no. 11); pp. 40-61 (no. 12).

strongly encouraged Swiss residents, especially those in French Canada, to establish colonies throughout Ontario.<sup>112</sup> Not long after beginning this work, Kaderli died, in 1874, from lung complications. Local Swiss in Canada commemorated “the distinguished scientist and traveller Jacques Kaderly, a professor of mineralogy from Bern.”<sup>113</sup>

### **Men of Science**

We are tempted to contravene these words. Our survey of Kaderli’s life reveals that he was less as an enterprising scholar, and more an enterprising charlatan. Yet it is perhaps more fruitful, I contend, to refuse a choice between one designation or another. The scholar is not opposed to the charlatan. Rather than substituting for Kaderli’s pretensions his history of mere profit-seeking intrigues, we should therefore consider instead how the two are entirely compatible, and entirely productive. For seen from the perspective of the messy life of middlemen profit-seekers who facilitated the flow of knowledge, “civilization and enlightenment” was a business opportunity. Enlightenment was a deal.

In the first half of this chapter, we examined John Hartley, an “Enlightenment dealer” whose tale forced us to conceive of opium and textbooks as mutually constitutive of one and the same economy. The instance of Jakob Kaderli does much the same: it drives us to consider how a mercenary moonlighting as an instructor, a textbook writer, and then a professional scholar, was part of the very fabric of Japan’s “Civilization and

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<sup>112</sup> Kaderli’s report is collected in *Discours prononcé par Madame de Koerber, dans la conférence tenue à Berne en Septembre passé, pour y expliquer ses démarches relativement à l’émigration* (Berne: B.F. Haller, 1877). An English translation may be found in “Report of Professor Kaderly, Late of Yeddo, Japan, on His Exploratory Expedition to the Shores of Lake Nipissing in the Interest of Swiss Emigration,” *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, for the Province of Ontario, on Immigration, for the Year 1873*, in *Sessional Papers. Volume VI.-Part II. Third Session of the Second Parliament of the Province of Ontario. Session 1874* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1874), pp. 28-32.

<sup>113</sup> Joan Magee, *The Swiss in Ontario* (Windsor, Ontario: Electra Books, 1991), p. 84.

Enlightenment.” Charlatan though he may have been, Kaderli produced textbooks that, for over a decade thereafter, shaped the course of German learning in Japan.

This phenomenon was an intrinsic part of the conditions of modernization in the world’s first non-Western modernity. Japan’s “Asylum for the Homeless” sheltered knowledge only by also sheltering those foreigners who were anything but real teachers, yet nonetheless still somehow taught. As the dust from the Restoration settled, Japanese authorities did their utmost to remove the unseemly riffraff of an earlier time. Just as Hartley was driven out of business and turned to opium smuggling, so too was Kaderli pressured out of his post to seek fortune elsewhere through deceit. Though both men vanished thereafter from the memory of Japanese history, their contributions to Japanese modernization still remain for the historian to recover: Hartley, in the textbooks he sold; Kaderli, in the textbooks he authored.

The knowledge that we value the most is frequently moved by agents to whom we would assign no value at all. In a posthumous sketch of Kaderli for a local history of Bern, the pastor A. Walther, who believed Kaderli’s self-perpetuated myths to be true, described a “restless man working in the service of science.” “His early death,” Walther continued, “is to be mourned in the interest of science.”<sup>114</sup> We today, who know Kaderli’s myths to be false, may nonetheless still wish to do the same.

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<sup>114</sup> A. Walther, “Jakob Kaderli,” p. 376.

**CHAPTER V**  
**The Order of Western Books:**  
**Learning, Reading, and the Truth in Meiji Japan**

At almost exactly noon on September 1, 1923, the Great Kantō Earthquake struck Tokyo and its environs. Measuring a magnitude of 7.9 on the Richter scale, it was the largest natural disaster of twentieth century Japan. Among its victims were humans, buildings, roads – the fabric of cities. Among its victims were also books. Composites of paper, string, cloth, and leather, an estimated 1.2 million volumes vanished in the ensuing flames. Of these, more than half – approximately 760,000 – belonged to the central library of Tokyo Imperial University. Save for a handful of titles, we are told, their entire collection was lost – “reduced to ashes.”<sup>1</sup>

Only it was not. Though histories of the university’s library have stressed its wholesale destruction, a corpus of nearly 1500 books in fact survived the quake.<sup>2</sup> Despite having survived, however, this corpus was never reintroduced back into the library’s collection. Instead, it lay uncatalogued until the early twenty-first century. Indeed, it survived precisely because it had been cast aside: removed from shelves in 1893, these 1500-some books had been placed out of circulation in basement storage lockers, protecting them, ironically, from the fires that destroyed so many other volumes on open

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<sup>1</sup> Hans van der Hoeven and Joan van Albada, *Memory of the World: Lost Memory – Libraries and Archives destroyed in the Twentieth Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 1996), p. 4. See also *First Report on the Reconstruction of the Tokyo Imperial University Library* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Toshokan, 1926); and James Raven, “Introduction: The Resonances of Loss,” in *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Books since Antiquity*, ed. James Raven (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 1-40. Note that on p. 7, Raven makes a tenfold error, claiming “12 million” volumes lost in Tokyo.

<sup>2</sup> The stress on destruction is in part due to a narrative that emphasizes the role of international contributions – primarily from the Rockefeller Foundation – in the reconstruction of the library. See Nagao Munenori 長尾宗典, “Sen kyūhyaku nijū nendai ni okeru ‘bunkashugi’ to toshokan 一九二〇年代における「文化主義」と図書館,” *Shikyō* 史境 63 (2011): pp. 19-35.



shelves. This corpus consisted solely of elementary Western textbooks, imported or domestically reprinted during the early Meiji period.<sup>3</sup>

The forgotten textbooks of Tokyo Imperial University serve as an emblem for the problem to be untangled in this closing chapter. Once, the highest scholars in Japan sought an education through such works as the *Nederlandsch Magazijn* and Baker's *Circle of Knowledge*. By 1893, these works would be taken out of circulation; by 1923, they would be wholly excluded from the catalogues and records of library collections. What forces brought about this shift? And what does its existence reveal about changes in the epistemic values and practices that defined Western knowledge for Japan?

My answer to these questions takes us back into a more traditional territory of intellectual history, where we will greet familiar faces, including Fukuzawa Yukichi and Katō Hiroyuki, as well as some figures yet new to Anglophone scholarship, such as Yanagawa Shunsan and Ogawa Tameharu. The grounds for this departure, in a dissertation whose core chapters have attempted to focus more on the lives of books than the lives of persons, lies in my principal contention that the disappearance of textbooks from modern Japan's historical record took form only slowly, as the hesitant and uncertain outcome of several decades of battle over the meaning of scholarship and the norms of scholarly reading. Textbooks were not simply old clothes, abandoned by the wayside as Japan naturally outgrew them. Granted, such organic metaphors have a pleasing ontogenetic economy to them – Japan, in the infancy of its knowledge of the West, used elementary textbooks, only to graduate on to adult literature as its knowledge

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<sup>3</sup> On the history of this textbook corpus, see Takano Akira 高野彰, "Meiji-shoki no yōsho kyōkasho no hakken to tsuiseki 明治初期の洋書教科書の発見と追跡," in *Tōkyō Daigaku shoki yōsho kyōkasho ni tsuite no sōgōteki kenkyū* 東京大学初期洋書教科書についての総合的研究, ed. Tsukimura Tatsuo 月村辰雄 (Tokyo: 2005), pp. 11-22.

matured. But Meiji contestations indicate that there was no inevitability to the decision to discard textbooks. This decision, in the end, had less to do with the nature of knowledge itself, and more to do with the question of how an uneven international order in the late nineteenth-century conferred recognition on certain epistemic practices, while denying it to others.

The narrative of this chapter runs as follows. We begin with an outline of the meanings of scholarly “learning” in the Tokugawa period, and highlight the ambiguous status of the “Western Learning” movement within this field. Lacking a clear canon and prone to chaotic, distracted practices of reading, Western Learning was seen by its detractors – and not without cause – as inadequate to the task of true scholarly self-formation.

In first decade and a half of Meiji, however, precisely these inadequacies were transvalued into positive weapons to be used against traditional modes of scholarship. This discourse emerged with particular strength against the backdrop of the formation of the modern public education system. Publishers, in turn, sought to exploit a growing audience for educational texts, leading to period of heightened popularity for textbooks and other cheap educational print. In this sense, the set of scholarly practices applied to learn Western knowledge in this period remained largely unchanged from those of the Tokugawa period. The difference, instead, was the role assigned to them through a new historical consciousness of civilization and progress. Early Meiji intellectual life was therefore no simple matter of either continuity or rupture. It was, rather, a form of rejuvenation – of old forms given new life, meaning, and mission.

This period was not to last. By the mid-1880s, an anxiety had arisen that the proliferation of educational books threatened to overwhelm any coherent order or system to the task of learning. To once again secure order, calls emerged for more rigorous adherence to disciplinary boundaries. Scholars, during their time abroad, or else at home, began to focus their energies on mapping the disciplinary structure of European universities, and compiling prescriptive reading lists that could function as disciplinary canons. As this movement gained force, scholarly identity became increasingly rooted in the ability to perform a mastery of these disciplinary canons, rather than undisciplined familiarity with a miscellaneous range of ideas acquired piecemeal from elementary textbooks. Yet right as Japan disavowed textbooks as a scholarly source for learning the West, bibliographies of textbooks, both European-language and Japanese, began to emerge out of reformist circles in China. The chapter ends with a consideration of this exchange, and a broader meditation of Western knowledge in modern Japanese intellectual life.

### **Learning and Reading in Tokugawa Japan**

As we saw earlier in Chapter 3, the struggle for legitimacy between Western Learning (洋学) and Chinese Learning (漢学) reached a point of crisis beginning in the late 1850s. In that chapter, we analyzed this struggle in terms of an institutional power play between the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo, and the new Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. These institutional dynamics were decisive for shogunal policies on education, censorship, and publication. But equally as compelling for the broader scholarly community were a set of intellectual concerns over the integrity of Western Learning as a coherent form of intellectual inquiry. For many, in fact, Western Learning

did not deserve to be called “learning” at all. Before we may properly understand the re-ordering of books in the Meiji era, we must first explore the nature of this conflict, teasing out the assumptions that structured relations between “learning” and reading in the Tokugawa period.

What was true “learning” (学), and why did Western Learning fail to meet its standards? The answer takes us back to the systematization of Song Learning in the theories of Zhu Xi. Across centuries of quarrels and counter-currents in the philosophical community, first in the late Ming, then again with the rise of Qing “Evidential Learning,” Zhu Xi’s approach continued to define the fundamental parameters for “learning” across early modern East Asia, acting as the basic paradigm within which challenges were to assert themselves in order to gain intellectual legibility.<sup>4</sup>

According to this paradigm, “learning” denoted a method of cultivation whose end goal was the attainment of virtue, as embodied in the figure of the “scholar-gentleman” (士).<sup>5</sup> To attain virtue, one had to comprehend the “principles” (理) that governed the world, which in turn served as normative guidelines for moral conduct. For Zhu Xi, these principles were to be found first and foremost in books. “With regard to the Way of learning,” wrote Zhu Xi, in perhaps his most-cited outline of scholarly method,

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<sup>4</sup> The most forceful argument that Zhu Xi’s theories of learning functioned as a dominant “paradigm,” even against challenges from the Wang Yangming school, can be found in Lianbin Dai, “Books, Reading and Knowledge in Ming China” (DPhil dissertation, Oxford University, 2012), pp. 205-75.

<sup>5</sup> Tsujimoto Masashi 辻本雅史, *Kinsei kyōiku shisō no kenkyū: Nihon ni okeru ‘kōkyōiku’ shisō no genryū* 近世教育思想史の研究——日本における「公教育」思想の源流 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1990), pp. 47, 54. For a summary of the Zhu Xi paradigm, see Lianbin Dai, “Books, Reading and Knowledge,” pp. 38-93; Ōtsuki Nobuyoshi 大槻信良, “Shushi no gakumonkan 朱子の学問観,” *Tōhōgaku* 10 (1955): pp. 97-107; Ōtani Kunihiko 大谷邦彦, “Shushi no gaku 朱子の「学」,” *Chūgoku koten kenkyū* 13 (1965): pp. 100-11; Chung-ying Cheng, “Method, Knowledge and Truth in Chu His,” *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 14 (1987): pp. 129-60. On how early modern Japanese understandings of this, see Mary Evelyn Tucker, “The Religious Dimension of Confucianism: Cosmology and Cultivation,” *Philosophy East and West* 48, no. 1 (1998): pp. 5-45.

“nothing is more urgent than a thorough study of principles. And a thorough study of principles must of necessity consist in book-learning.”<sup>6</sup>

Zhu Xi’s paradigm of “book-learning” rested specifically on two features: 1) the “deep reading” of 2) an ordered canon of selections from classical texts. Associated with the character *du* (讀), “deep reading” stood distinct from other practices for “reading” such as *kan* (看) and *lan* (覽), applied to non-philosophical genres of drama and fiction.<sup>7</sup> Reading deeply entailed not only careful attention to philological detail, but the interiorization of texts as integral extension of one’s own subjectivity. When read properly, texts should enact a moral transformation in the reader.<sup>8</sup> Not all texts, of course, were capable of affecting about this moral transformation. As a result, “deep reading” also entailed a focus upon a limited canon of select texts that, in Zhu Xi’s esteem, best exemplified the “visible traces and necessary results” of the ancient sage-kings.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, this canon was to be read in a particular order, starting with the “Great Learning” chapter of the *Classic of Rites*.

Though much has been made about the divergence of early modern Japanese thought from any simple inheritance of Chinese Neo-Confucianism, Tokugawa scholars in most ways conformed to the Zhu Xi paradigm of “learning” as the deep reading of a

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<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Ying-shih Yü, “Morality and Knowledge in Chu Hsi’s Philosophical System,” in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, ed. Wing-tsit Chan (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1986), pp. 228-54, esp. 233-37.

<sup>7</sup> Anne McLaren, “Constructing New Reading Publics in Late Ming China,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia Brokaw (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 173.

<sup>8</sup> See particularly the passages in Zhu Xi, *Learning to Be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically*, trans. Daniel K. Gardner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 128–62. Tsujimoto Masashi proposes the term “corporealization and interiorization of text” (テキストの身体化・内部化) to describe this moral transformation through deep reading. See Tsujimoto Masashi 辻本雅史, “Shisō o kataru media: Gakuchi, Gakushū, Shintai 思想を語るメディア——学知・学習・身体,” *Nihon shisōshi kōza 3: Kinsei* 日本思想史講座 3——近世 (Tokyo: Perikan-sha, 2012), p. 244.

<sup>9</sup> Ying-shih Yü, “Morality and Knowledge,” p. 233.

prescriptive canon.<sup>10</sup> One of the earliest representatives of Japanese Neo-Confucianism, Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657), curtailed his canon to only thirteen books whose repeated consultation should comprise the lifelong labor of the scholar.<sup>11</sup> Yamazaki Anzai 山崎闇齋 (1618-82) went so far as to suggest that all commentaries and editions of the classics other than those by Zhu Xi's should be ignored.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, Amano Sadakage 天野信景 (1663-1733), author of one of the first popular reading manuals to introduce the Chinese classics to a non-scholarly audience, copied over Zhu Xi's recommendations on deep reading as the first chapter of his book.<sup>13</sup>

Understandably, later thinkers increasingly differed in the contents of their prescribed canons and the order in which these contents were to be read.<sup>14</sup> Yet even those most staunchly opposed to Zhu Xi conformed to the paradigm of learning as canonical deep reading. Two examples serve to underscore this point. Consider, first, Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728), the Tokugawa era's most renowned critic of Song textual editing practices. For Sorai, "learning" was synonymous with "the Way of the ancient sage-kings."

Centuries of textual corruption, however, including the shoddy philology of Song

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<sup>10</sup> The best study of this divergence remains Watanabe Hiroshi 渡部浩, *Kinsei Nihon to Sōgaku* 近世日本と宋学 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku shuppankai, 1985).

<sup>11</sup> Published posthumously in Hayashi Razan 林羅山 『經典題説』 (1667), *Kansho kaidai shūsei* 漢書解題集成, vol. 1, ed. Samura Hachirō (Tokyo: Rikugōkan, 1900), p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Abe Ryūichi 阿部隆一, "Sakimon gakuha shoke no ryakuden to gaku fū 崎門学派諸家の略伝と学風," in *Nihon shisō taikei 31: Yamazaki Ansai gakuha* 日本思想大系 31 : 山崎闇齋学派 (Tokyo: Iwanami 1980), p. 565; Maruyama Masao 丸山真男, "Ansaigaku to Ansai gakuha 闇齋学と闇齋学派," in *Nihon shisō taikei 31: Yamazaki Ansai gakuha* 日本思想大系 31 : 山崎闇齋学派 (Tokyo: Iwanami 1980).

<sup>13</sup> *Shogaku dokushohan* 初学読書範 (Rules of reading for beginners, 1699). For a discussion, see Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 259-63.

<sup>14</sup> For instance, Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747) criticized the narrowness of strict Neo-Confucian canons and compiled a much expanded list of 113 works. See Yayoshi Mitsunaga 弥吉光長, "Nihon ni okeru dokusho-hō no hatten 日本における読書法の発展," in *Dokushoron no keifu* 読書論の系譜, ed. Deguchi Kazuo 出口一雄 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1994), p. 13.

anthologies and commentaries, had obscured this Way. As a remedy, Sorai recommended close reading of the original Six Classics, and the avoidance of all later editions. “The Way of the ancient sage-kings lies in the Classics of Poetry, Documents, Rites, and Music,” wrote Sorai. “Therefore,” he continued, “the method of learning is simply to study the Classics of Poetry, Documents, Rites, and Music.” These four texts alone, he concluded, “are enough for the making of a scholar-gentleman.”<sup>15</sup>

Consider, second, Kaibara Ekiken, the Tokugawa era’s most prominent advocate of a wide-ranging philosophical eclecticism. Refusing affiliation with any single school or lineage of Confucian thought, Ekiken took as his motto a passage from the Doctrine of the Mean that encouraged scholar-gentlemen to “learn broadly” (博学). “So long as there is something left unstudied, or something that, having been studied, is not understood,” urged the passage, “the [gentleman] will not begrudge labor.”<sup>16</sup> Invoking the term *lan* (J: *ran* 覧) for “reading” instead of *du* (J: *doku* 讀), Ekiken portrayed the ideal gentlemen-scholar as a polymath “well versed in the broad reading of the past and present” (博覽古今通人).<sup>17</sup> This entailed reading Japanese vernacular texts, in addition to Chinese classics. Still, “learning broadly” had its limits, and should not be taken as an end in itself. The final goal being still to discover “principles” (理), one had to guard against the “chaotic reading” (濫読) of “miscellaneous books” (雜書). Thus, in his model reading regimen,

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<sup>15</sup> 「学なる者は、先王の道を学ぶを謂ふなり。先王の道は、詩書礼楽に在り。故に学の方も、また詩書礼楽を学ぶのみ・・・故に詩書礼楽は、以て士を造るに足る」. Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠, *Benmei* 弁名, in Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, ed., *Nihon shisō taikēi* 36. *Ogyū Sorai* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1973), p. 84. Sorai’s addition of the Classic of Music is admittedly unorthodox, and a point of contestation. But as is evident, his formulation did nothing to challenge the basic paradigm of reading a specified canon closely as the center of scholarly formation.

<sup>16</sup> 「博學之...有弗學，學之弗能，弗措也」

<sup>17</sup> Yoshida Tadashi 吉田忠, “Edo jidai no kagaku shisō 江戸時代の科学思想,” *Nihon shisōshi kōza* 3. *Kinsei* 日本思想史講座 3——近世 (Tokyo: Perikan-sha, 2012), p. 300.

Ekiken fell in the last instance back into a familiar paradigm. Mornings were to be spent reading classics and commentaries (経伝), and afternoons spent reading histories (史書). While reading, each hour should be dedicated to the close reading of a specific passage from a single text. At the end of the day, one should note all new vocabulary down in a separate book, and memorize these new words in the evening.<sup>18</sup>

Ekiken's warnings against the "chaotic reading" of "miscellaneous books" corresponded closely to the tenor of complaints against Western Learning during the Tokugawa period. In the eyes of critics, neither a theory of moral cultivation, nor a method of deep reading, nor a defined canon of texts, were evident in works of Western Learning. Western Learning instead comprised, to its detractors, a hodgepodge miscellany of facts, observations, and theories, seemingly at the whim of individual caprice. The roots of this caprice found its expression in the term *ki* (奇), alternatively translated as the "eccentric," "strange," "monstrous," or "exceptional."<sup>19</sup> In his diaries, Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829), architect of the Kansei Ban on Heterodoxy, attacked "Western Learning" by claiming that "only those with a fondness for *ki*...have dealings with barbarian books."<sup>20</sup> Half a century later, amidst the bakumatsu explosion of

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<sup>18</sup> From Ekiken's *Daigiroku* 大疑録, quoted in Nagatomo Chiyoji 長友千代治, *Kinsei no dokusho* (Musashimurayama-shi: Seishōdō shoten, 1987), pp. 31-33; for a later discussion, see also Nagatomo Chiyoji, *Edo jidai no tosho ryūtsū* 江戸時代の図書流通 (Kyoto: Bukkyō daigaku tsūshi kyōikubu, 2002), pp. 160-64.

<sup>19</sup> W. Puck Brecher, *The Aesthetics of Strangeness: Eccentricity and Madness in Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013).

<sup>20</sup> 「蛮書てふものは、さして国用に足るものにもあらず。ただ好奇の者のすることなり」. See Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信, *Taikan Zakki* (ca. 1790), in *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1980), p. 72.



Western Learning, the same refrain remained. “Students today,” wrote Tsuboi Shinryō, “are too fond of *ki*.”<sup>21</sup>

The phrase “fond of *ki*” or “fondness for *ki*” pairs *ki* with the character *konomu* (好). In contemporary Japanese, taken as a compound (好奇), this term has come to be equated with the adjective “curious.” Curiosity is, in many ways, an apt translation. But it is only so if we preserve layers of its historical meaning.<sup>22</sup> As Sadanobu or Shinryō used it, being curious – being “fond of *ki*” – implied less a desire for knowledge, and more a state of easy excitation. Phenomena strange, eccentric, monstrous, and exceptional might serve as starting points. Ultimately, however, what defined *ki* was its link to a seduction by the senses – a moment when one’s attraction to the seen, felt, and heard overtook discipline and method.

These moments are to be found scattered throughout the foundational works of Western Learning. Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827), in *Steps to Dutch Learning* 蘭学階梯 (1788), informs readers that “we, in our country, are drawn with desire to the *kikō* of Dutch craftsmanship.”<sup>23</sup> Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817), in his *Basics of*

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<sup>21</sup> Keiō 3.9. 下旬, p. 302. 「余リ奇ヲ好ムト云ヘシ」. Commenting upon students who seek intercourse with commoners, specifically the Nagasaki Magistrate (Bugyō) Kawazu Izu no kami.

<sup>22</sup> Strangely enough, though *ki* has drawn the attention of cultural and literary historians, there has yet been no concentrated effort from the history of science to draw out the connections between *ki* and the voluminous literature on “curiosity” in early modern European science. To my knowledge, only Tsurumi Kazuko 鶴見和子, *Kōkishin to Nihonjin* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1972), argues for a history of “curiosity” in Japan, but she does so considering “curiosity” as a feature of Japanese national character, an “innate and persistent curiosity” that is the root of the “Japanese proclivity for cultural borrowing.” For the latter, see: Toby E. Huff, *Intellectual Curiosity and the Scientific Revolution: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Katie Whitaker, “The Culture of Curiosity,” in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. Lisa Jardine, James A. Secord, and E.C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 75-91.

<sup>23</sup> 「和蘭ノ術、我邦ニテ其奇巧ヲ慕ヒ」. Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢, *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯 (1788), in Hirose Hideo 広瀬秀雄, ed., *Nihon shisō taikai 64. Yōgaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972), p. 412.

*Dutch Learning* 蘭学事始 (1815), attributed the beginnings of Dutch Learning to a moment where “people’s minds were violently moved by the *kikō* [of Dutch science].”<sup>24</sup> In both these instances, the common term, *kikō* 奇巧, confronts us with verbs that reject the ratiocinative faculties in favor of emotion (慕ふ), and physical disturbance (動かす). Rather than meditating upon the principles in the recovered words of ancient sage-kings, practitioners of Western Learning were allowing themselves to be swayed by affect and sensation.

To be sure, these criticisms cannot be taken without attenuating nuances. The seemingly miscellaneous character of Western Learning was to an extent structured by the constraints on book circulation outlined in pervious chapters. In recommending books to aspiring scholars, for instance, Gentaku, in the above-cited *Steps*, prefaces his bibliography with the caveat that “imported [Dutch] books are closely guarded by those who collect them.” As a result, his recommendations were limited only to the small handful of books that had serendipitously made their way into his orbit.<sup>25</sup> The lack of any clear and consistent canon to Western Learning was thus in part a consequence of restricted access. Unable to survey the full landscape of Western books, availability trumped canonicity.

Nevertheless, there are reasons to take seriously the criticism of *ki* as accurately identifying a deeper attitude in practices of Western Learning. Even as imported books grew more plentiful, with reprints and translations widening circles of readership,

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<sup>24</sup> 「人々その奇巧に甚だ心を動かし」. Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白, *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始 (1815), in *Nihon shisō taikēi* 64. *Yōgaku*, ed. Hirose Hideo 広瀬秀雄 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972), p. 351.

<sup>25</sup> 「往々舶来の群籍諸家秘蔵する所にして余等既に目撃するもの数十部・・・今二三を挙て左に記す」 in Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Rangaku kaitei*, p. 422.

Western Learning continued to resist the paradigm of canonical “deep reading.” Scholars chased after the new and the contemporary, rather than reaching back into the historical layers of the ancients. Consider, for instance, the 1813 catalogue for the Edo-based bookseller *Shōkodō* (尚古堂). True to its name – the “Hall for the Veneration of the Ancients” – this catalogue begins with advice on appraising Chinese books. It offers strategies for identifying different styles of script, using these and other clues to differentiate between Song, Ming, and Qing printings, between later editions and forgeries versus genuine antiquarian finds. The next section on Western imprints then opens with a brief tutorial on reading Roman numerals. Such knowledge was a necessity, for like Chinese books, “in order to determine whether a Dutch book is good or bad, one must examine its date of publication.” Then came the catch. The catalogue went on to highlight “MDCCC” (1800) as a marker of quality. “Books before MDCCC are old, and are of little value,” the 1813 catalogue counseled, for “according to Tozuka Seikai, the best Dutch books are those published after MDCCC.”<sup>26</sup> So much, then, for the “veneration of the ancients.”

A glance at introductory manuals of Western Learning both confirms Western Learning’s proclivity for newness, while also suggesting the following: if there was ever any common canon of Western Learning in the Tokugawa period, it lay in spelling books, grammars, geographies, and elementary readers; if there was ever any common theory of reading, it lay in reading anything and everything – whatever imports one could get one’s hands on, as they arrived in Japan. For Sorai above, the “Classics of Poetry, Documents,

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<sup>26</sup> Tozuka Seikai 戸塚静海 (1799-1876) was a scholar of Dutch medicine who studied under Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), and was instrumental in the bringing Jenner’s smallpox vaccination to Japan. Waseda University Special Collections. *Tenjaku shinkyō* 353a. The Waseda copy is a 1907 manuscript copy (*shahon*) of the original catalogue.

Rites, and Music” were “enough for the making of a scholar-gentleman.” For Udagawa Yōan 宇田川榕庵 (1798-1846) in his *Easy Record of Dutch Learning* 蘭学重宝記 (1835), a scholar of Western Learning required only three basics: a knowledge of the Dutch language, a knowledge of the Gregorian calendar, and a knowledge of world geography.<sup>27</sup> Thirty years later, Yanagawa Shunsan, in an introductory manual sponsored by the shogunate, retained a similar approach as Udagawa’s. Grammar, orthography, and the rudiments of Western languages came first, after which one learned the names of planets, the calendar, the names of continents, oceans, and countries.<sup>28</sup>

These rudiments were to be acquired from shifting lists of elementary textbooks. Udagawa named the works of the Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen, described in Chapter 1; Yanagawa listed Webster’s *Spelling Book*, Baker’s *Circle of Knowledge*, and Cornell’s *Primary Geography*.<sup>29</sup> Part and parcel of this selection of textbooks was an attitude against canonical deep reading. Both Yanagawa and his contemporary Kano Ryōmin 可野亮珉 argued that reading, in Western Learning, did not require time-consuming concentration and erudition. Ryōmin expressed this by claiming that Western-language texts conveyed their “principles” in a language more simple and direct than the Chinese classics.<sup>30</sup> Yanagawa elaborated on this point, stating that long philological debates over the history of characters, their form and phonology, were a feature peculiar

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<sup>27</sup> Udagawa Yōan 宇田川榕庵, *Rangaku chōhōki* 蘭学重宝記 (1835).

<sup>28</sup> Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三, *Kanpan yōgaku benran shoshū* 官版 洋学便覧 初集 (Edo: Kaiseijo, 1866).

<sup>29</sup> Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三, *Yōgaku shishin. Eigaku-bu* 『洋学指針 英学部』 (Edo: 1867).

<sup>30</sup> Shōtō Kano [Kano Ryōmin] 松濤可野, *Rangaku hitori annai* 蘭学独案内 (Edo: Izumiya Hanbei; Izumiya Kichibe; Yamadaya Sasuke, 1856).

to Chinese texts, and ceased to be a consideration in Western books.<sup>31</sup> Their arguments exemplified the logic of the modern textbook, organized and written in an attempt to eliminate interpretive controversy. There were no accumulated layers of meaning to be painstakingly deciphered in textbooks. Armed with the rudiments of grammar, geography, and a basic cultural vocabulary, one could read therefore whatever one wanted.<sup>32</sup>

This ideal of the elementary textbook as a means of knowledge acquisition within Western Learning may be crystallized even further through a brief examination of the keen interest paid by scholars of Western Learning to the textbooks of the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, or Society for Public Utility. Founded by the Mennonite pastor Jan Nieuwenhuizen (1724-1806) in 1784, the *Maatschappij* soon became Netherlands' premier organization to militate for educational reform, particularly the establishment of a nationwide elementary school system, gaining over 7,000 members by 1800.<sup>33</sup> Their program was defined in 1796 with the publication of the *General Views Concerning National Education*.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三, *Yōgaku shishin. Rangaku-bu* 洋学指針 蘭学部 (Edo: 1857).

<sup>32</sup> This is by no means to deny the consciousness of a structured order to “Dutch” or “Western” knowledge. Indeed, there appears to have been some awareness of the *système figuré* proposed in the *Encyclopédie*. However, as scholars have pointed out, there was no standard and widely-accepted account of what Dutch or Western sciences might really be, whether in epistemological terms of disciplinary categorizations, in historical terms of disciplinary narratives, or in philosophical terms of a broader meaning to scientific inquiry. Western Learning until the end of the Tokugawa period remained primarily a problem of linguistic expertise. See Kawajiri Nobuo 川尻信夫, “Fransu hyakkazensho-ha to was an: Minogasarete ita sono eikyō フランス百科全書派と和算——見逃されていたその影響,” *Bunmei* 21 (1977): pp. 5-33.

<sup>33</sup> For an outline of their early history, see *Gedenkschriften der Maatschappij: tot nut van 't algemeen voor de vijftien twintig jaren van haar bestaan* (Amsterdam: Cornelis de Vries, Hendrik van Munster en zoon, Johannes van der Hey, 1820); for a specific examination on their impact on the Dutch elementary school system, see *Publicatie van hun hoogmogende angaande het lager schoolwezen en onderwijs in de Bataafsche republiek; gearresteert den 3 april 1806* (The Hague: Staats-Drukkerij, 1806).

<sup>34</sup> *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, eds. *Algemeene denkbeelden over het nationaale onderwijs, ingeleverd in den jaare 1796, van wegen de vergadering van hoofdbestuurders der Nederlandsche Maatschappij: tot Nut van 't Algemeen* ([n.p.], 1806).

According to the *General Views*, successful national education necessitated “appropriate textbooks” (*geschikte leerboeken*). As they wrote,

“The school-books that are now generally in use in elementary schools, as we have already noted in passing, are completely inappropriate. There are indeed a few useful small works available for such a purpose, but they are priced much too high to be of use in schools. It should be of the highest necessity that a collection of such school books be made that, following our plan, not only belong to everyone, but also are of such content, that they can answer to the goal of the improvement of national education, and are fit to educate youth into a useful and virtuous members of society.”<sup>35</sup>

To encourage the production of appropriate textbooks, the Maatschappij began to sponsor public contests, each targeted at eliciting the best work on a chosen theme. These books met with significant praise among educators, and formed the basis of the first government list of textbooks for elementary schools in the Netherlands, published in two volumes from 1810-11.<sup>36</sup>

Equally as forthcoming was interest on the part of Japanese scholars, as works of the Maatschappij filtered into Japan. The first sustained discussion of the Maatschappij appeared in the work of Koseki San’ei 小関三英 (1787-1839), who worked for the shogunate at the Corps for the Translation of Barbarian Books. In the library there, circa

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<sup>35</sup> “De schoolboeken, welken in het algemeen, in de laagere scholen, thans in gebruik zijn, zo als wij reeds ter loops aanmerkten, geheel ongeschikt. Daar zijn, wel is waar, eenige zeer nuttige Werkjens voor derzelven voorhanden: doch de hooge prijs, tot welken zij verkocht worden, maakt derzelver gebruik in die scholen onmogelijk. Daarenboven zal het hoogstnoodzaaklijk zijn, dat ’er zodanig eene verzameling van schoolboeken worde vervaardigd, welken, volgens ons plan, niet alleen een geheel behooren uit te maaken; maar ook tevens van zodanig eenen inhoud zijn, dat zij aan het doel van een verbeterd Nationaal Onderwijs kunnen voldoen, en geschikt zijn, om de jeugd tot nuttige en deugdzaame Leden der Maatschappij op te leiden.” Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen, eds., *Algemeene denkbeelden over het nationaale onderwijs*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>36</sup> *Algemeene boekenlyst ten dienste der lagere scholen in Holland* (Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon, 1810); *Supplement op de algemeene boekenlyst ten dienste der lagere scholen in Holland* (Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon, 1811). For a full list of textbooks sponsored by the Maatschappij, see J. Huizinga, T. Jorissen, and P.A. Kohnstamm, *Gedenkboek: Maatschappij tot nut van 't algemeen, 1784-1934* (Amsterdam: Maatschappij tot nut van 't Algemeen, 1934), pp. 247-62 (“Publicaties van de Maatschappij”).

1835, he came upon a two-volume work by the Maatschappij intended as a guidebook for elementary school teachers.<sup>37</sup> Thinking, at the time, that it might be of interest to his friend Watanabe Kazan 渡辺崋山 (1793-1841), who was then embarking on a project to write a survey of the West, Koseki proceeded to produce a partial translation with commentary.<sup>38</sup>

The product of Koseki's labors, existing today only in manuscript form, provide a unique view of the manner in which textbooks for children were transvalued by scholars of Western Learning. In his prefatory comments, Koseki openly acknowledged that the Maatschappij's primary goal had been the education of children.<sup>39</sup> However, the Maatschappij's resulting textbooks were of such cheapness in price and clarity in method that they could be considered of use for all readers. Koseki elaborated,

[The Maatschappij] produces cheap and easy-to-understand books on all arts and sciences, gives them to impoverished scholar-gentlemen [貧士], and by doing so verses them in the arts and sciences and makes morals known to them. Through this, they foster talent that will be the making of good teachers, and contribute to the good of local schools.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, eds., *Volkslees, of Onderwijzers Handboek, uitgegeven door de Maatschappij tot nut van 't Algemeen*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Cornelius de Vries, Hendrik van Munster, and Johannes van der Hey, 1807-8).

<sup>38</sup> On the relation of Koseki's translation and commentary to the thought of Watanabe Kazan, see Iwata Takaaki 岩田高明, "Koseki San'ei *Chūjinsho* no seiyō kyōiku jōhō: Edo jidai ni okeru seiyō kyōiku jōhō juyō no tokushitsu 小関三英『鑄人書』の西洋教育情報——江戸時代における西洋教育情報受容の特質," *Nihon no kyōikushigaku kyōikushi gakkai kiyō* 日本の教育史学教育史学会紀要 40 (1997): pp. 22-38.

<sup>39</sup> 「児童学当今「マートシカツペイ」起てより漸く復興せり。往々正に其適當の法を得んか」。Koseki San'ei 小関三英, *Chūjinsho* 鑄人書 (ca. 1835), in *Yōgakusha kōhon shū* 洋学者稿本集, ed. Satō Shōsuke 佐藤昌介 (Tenri, Nara: Tenri Daigaku shuppanbu, 1986), p. 387.

<sup>40</sup> 「廉価にして且つ捷徑了解し易き諸学芸の書を著して貧士に与へ、彼等をして学芸に通じ道德を知らしめ、是に困て良師となるべき人材を成立して、郷教に裨するにあり。」Koseki San'ei 小関三英, *Chūjinsho* 鑄人書, p. 429.

Koseki's choice of words here is suggestive, for the term I have rendered as "impoverished scholar-gentleman" is both uncommon and semantically ambiguous. Within the Confucian paradigm of learning, the scholar-gentleman was the literatus. Within the Japanese tradition, he vacillated between this distinction, and the distinction of being a samurai status-elite. In 1835, then, at the time of the Tenpō famine, Koseki's "impoverished scholar-gentleman" could have just as well been a nod toward an "impoverished samurai." Whichever one we choose, however, we are confronted with a curious substitution. The books made by a society dedicated to the education of children, on account of their cheapness and simplicity, were also fit either intellectual or social elites hard on financial luck.

History soon proved Koseki correct. Maatschappij books such as the one Koseki consulted had been available in Japan for some time, but as the tide of interest in Western Learning surged following the First Opium War, Japanese publishers began to engage in the active reprinting of European-language texts, especially those of the Maatschappij. Typically, this involved transcribing over by hand, then carving the transcription onto woodblock; by the end of the 1850s, brief experiments in reprinting with moveable type, primarily executed in Nagasaki, also entered the picture. The following comprises a list of the Japanese reprints of Maatschappij textbooks I have discovered thus far:



Year of Japanese publication	Author(s)	Title	Publisher(s)	Place(s)	Format	Japanese Title(s)	Publication place of edition used	Publication date of edition used	Publisher of Edition Used
1848	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen	Syntaxis, of woordvoeging der nederduitsche taal	美作熊坂蘭齋		woodblock	和蘭文典後編; シンタキス	Leiden; Deventer; Groningen	1810	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen
1842	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen	Grammatica, of nederduitsche spraakkunst, tweede druk	山城屋; 播磨屋; 須腹屋	Edo	woodblock	和蘭文典前編; グラマチカ	Leiden; Deventer; Groningen	1822	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen
1857	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen	Syntaxis, of woordvoeging der nederduitsche taal. tweede druk	箕作氏		woodblock	和蘭文典後編; シンタキス	Leiden; Deventer	1846	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen
1858	Johannes Buijs	Volks-Natuurkunde, of onderwijs in de natuurkunde voor mingeoefenden; tot wiring van wanbegrippen, vooroordeel en bijgeloof	Nederlandsch Drukkerij 美作宜信齋	Nagasaki	moveable type	理科書	Liden; Deventer; Amsterdam	1811	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen
1857	Johannes Buijs	Natuurkundig schoolboek	藏梓; 山城屋; 須原屋	Edo	woodblock	格致問答	Leiden; Deventer; Amsterdam	1828	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen
[n.d]	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen	Handleiding tot de Kennis der Natuur. Schoolboek	[no colophon]	[no colophon]	woodblock	格致問答	Leiden; Deventer	1851	Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen

#### 5.1 Reprints of Maatschappij works in Japan

Were one to look back at the 1810 list of recommended textbooks for Dutch elementary schools, inspired by the Maatschappij, one would find, for instance, the *Grammatica*, and Buijs' *Natuurkundig Schoolboek* listed there for third-year students.<sup>1</sup> For scholars of Western Learning in the Tokugawa period, however, this did not matter. It did not matter, for regardless of whether these books had been intended for children or not, they presented opportunities for scholars and samurai to do something more – to learn something different and new. In contrast to deep reading founded on a classical canon, Western Learning operated on a paradigm of what could be called “open” reading. One read what one could, whatever one could get, whatever presented an opportunity for learning – including elementary textbooks.

This “open” attitude to textbook reading was no mere theoretical stance. It was also evidenced in practice. In the 1860s, education at the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books did not function along any guided curriculum. First-year students apprenticed themselves to lower-level language instructors (句読師) until they had acquired a passable level of grammatical, syntactical, and lexical knowledge. From that point onward, daily “classes” resembled independent study halls. Students brought with them books of their choice, and sat at desks reading individually. For the most part, these consisted of low-level textbooks chosen individually. One instructor presided at the front of the room, with whom students could privately consult if any difficulties arose in the course of reading. At irregular intervals during the month, prominent professors would occasionally arrive to deliver lectures on topics of their choice. There was no attempt to systematize these, however, into a unified canon of study. In the words of one student,

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<sup>1</sup> *Algemeene boekenlyst*, p. 127.

the Institute's curriculum stressed “not disciplines” (専門の学科) but “general learning” (普通学).<sup>2</sup>

Thus lay the landscape on the eve of the Meiji Restoration. On the one side, there was eclecticism and distraction guided by curiosity; on the other, there was concentration and discipline guided by a quest for moral virtue. The former stressed open reading in textbooks – ostensibly simple, clear, and transparent; the latter stressed the deep reading of a limited canon. The divergence between these two paradigms became increasingly problematic as the tide of intellectual interest shifted toward Western Learning in the Meiji period. In order to legitimate itself, Western Learning would not only have to take on the Chinese paradigm of canonical deep reading. It would also have to articulate an identity in relation to new notions of intellectual inquiry and cultivation from the West itself.

### **Discipline and Canon**

The most-cited guide to reading of late Meiji, Sawayanagi Masatarō's 沢柳政太郎 (1865-1927) *Method of Reading* 読書法 (1892) offers four points of advice for reading. First, books must be organized into defined classes by discipline or topic. Second, reading should concentrate exclusively on only one of these defined classes at a time. Third, the books one reads should never be less than a year old. Fourth, the books one should must all be famous.<sup>3</sup> Cleaving close to his own counsel, Sawayanagi suggests

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<sup>2</sup> Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之, “Bansho shirabesho ni tsuite 蕃書調所に就て,” *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 20, no. 7 (1909): pp. 83-88.

<sup>3</sup> 「一定の書籍を選みて専修すること, 世に行はれて未だ一年を経ざる書籍は読むべからず, 有名な書籍は読むべからず」. Sawayanagi Masatarō 沢柳政太郎, *Dokushohō* 読書法 (Tokyo: Tetsugaku shoin, 1892). The latter advice is taken from Emerson, *Society and Solitude*, although Emerson adds a third criteria: “Never read any but what you like.”

works to readers. Hobbes and Locke must be read if one is to understand Law; Bacon and Newton must be read if one is to understand science; Milton and, more recently, Emerson, must be read, if one is to understand literature.

Nothing could have been farther from the situation of Western Learning some thirty years earlier. Not only did they fail to read Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Milton, and Newton, but they failed to read with any urgent sense of canon and discipline at all, instead opting for the varied books that struck their curiosity, or else fell fortuitously into their hands. Textbooks thrived in this environment, for, as Yanagawa had pointed out, they provided simple access to a wealth of knowledge with little demand for sustained concentration and philological erudition. Sawayanagi, however, was not a man of Yanagawa's world. Born three years before the Restoration, Sawayanagi was a consummate Meiji scholar, graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, and eventually ascending to the presidency of both Tōhoku and Kyōto Imperial Universities. The distance between his recommendations, and those of Udagawa and Yanagawa earlier, marks the puzzle of this section.

It was the Education Law of 1872 (学制) that created the first occasion for the Meiji discourse on "learning." By dividing the nation into school districts, and promising the creation of elementary, middle, and higher schools in each of these, the law opened a field for competing visions of education. As new schools threw their doors wide, so too exploded the number of editorials and pamphlets offering their views on the best policies and practices for the classroom.<sup>4</sup> Of these, one began modestly as a speech delivered in the town of Nakatsu (中津) in February of 1872 to commemorate the founding of their

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<sup>4</sup> On pedagogical theories in Japan at this time, see Mark Elwood Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995).

first public elementary school. Finding his words well received by locals, the speaker moved to publish. In subsequent years, he added to this initial work with sixteen more installments. The final product, finished in early winter of 1876, was compiled under the title *An Encouragement of Learning* 学問のすゝめ (1872-76).<sup>5</sup>

*An Encouragement of Learning* – and its author, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1834-1901) – are two of the most famous names in modern Japanese intellectual history.<sup>6</sup> If I have played coy with revealing them above, it is because I wish to place into question the radicality attributed to Fukuzawa’s work, and furthermore stress that it was but one of a number of contemporaneous treatises on the problem of “learning” in the wake of the Education Law. Indeed, in many ways, Fukuzawa’s *Encouragement* rehashes much of the content of Tokugawa-era Western Learning manuals such as those of Udagawa and Yanagawa, recommending a similar diet of textbooks, and a similar attitude toward open reading. What Fukuzawa’s *Encouragement* represented was therefore less a new paradigm of learning, than a re-articulation Tokugawa-era Western Learning framed more programmatically, and through a more acute historical consciousness.

This historical consciousness was structured by three binaries that in Fukuzawa’s mind distinguished Meiji from the Tokugawa era: the West versus China, the popular versus the elite, and the practical versus the theoretical. The “learning” of the Tokugawa period was Sinocentric, confined to elites, and purely theoretical. Meiji “learning” was to

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<sup>5</sup> For the details of this original occasion and speech, see the preface to the first volume of *Gakumon no susume* in *FYZ*, vol. 3. For a more detailed study of its relation to the Education Law, see Itō Masao 伊藤正雄, *Gakumon no susume kōsetsu: Fukuzawa Yukichi no kokkaku o kataru* 「学問のすゝめ」講説——福沢諭吉の骨格を語る (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1968), pp. 110-14.

<sup>6</sup> Earl H. Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai to Salary Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

be Western, popular, and practical. “Learning is not simply knowing difficult words reading impenetrable classics,” wrote Fukuzawa, labeling this “literary learning without practical value in the world.” The form of “learning” a new Japan required was instead “practical learning close to the normal, everyday needs of men.”<sup>7</sup> Fukuzawa’s hostility towards “literary learning” meant that one should not absorb oneself in deep reading, a state of mind that he analogized to intoxication.<sup>8</sup> Reading was important, but it was to be directed toward the broad acquisition of new knowledge in genres of practical importance, such as foreign languages, political economy, bookkeeping, geography, chemistry, engineering.

Beyond this, Fukuzawa’s *Encouragement* did not offer much detail on how, specifically, one was to read. For these particulars, we must instead to turn to works published in the wake of Fukuzawa such as *Lessons of Learning* 学問の心得 in August of 1873, *The A to Z of Learning* 学問のもとすゑ in October of that same year, *The Goal of Learning* 学問ノ目途 in December of 1874, the *Vade Mecum of the Encouragement of Learning* 勸学必携 and the *Normal School’s Encouragement of Learning* 師範学校学問勸 in October of 1875. Authored primarily by teachers or bureaucrats involved directly in the planning and execution of the new school system, these works contain more prescriptive instructions.

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<sup>7</sup> 「学問とは、唯むづかしき字を知り、解し難き古文を読み・・・世上に実のなき文学を云ふにあらず。・・・されば今、斯る実なき学問は先づ次にし、専ら勤むべきは、人間普通日用に近き実学なり」. In *FYZ*, vol. 3, p. ??.

<sup>8</sup> 「私の説は、今の学者読書にふけるなかれ。書にふけるも、酒色にふけるも、その罪は同じ。」 Letter to Nakamigawa Hikojirô 中上川彦次郎, Meiji 6.7, in *FYZ*, vol. 17, p. 150.

Of these, the most comprehensive was Ogawa Tameharu's *Method of Learning* 學問之法, published in four volumes from 1872 to 1875.<sup>9</sup> Ogawa, according to his own account, was less directly inspired by Fukuzawa, and more by his encounter with the works of Isaac Watts (1674-1748). As an indication of this, Ogawa gave to his work the alternate English title *Way of Intellectual Improvement*, in tribute of Watts' *Improvement of the Mind* (1741). Despite their temporal separation, Watts' ideas were roughly consonant with Fukuzawa's stress on practicality; at the beginning of his *Improvement*, Watts indicates that his book could have equally been titled "Directions for the Attainment of Useful Knowledge."<sup>10</sup>

Ogawa retained Watts' endorsement of useful knowledge, as well as many of the latter's basic recommendations on reading. Readers should, for instance, first attend to a book in a "cursory manner," instead of "dwell[ing] upon it with studious attention." The value of this advice was twofold. In the first place, it allowed one to decide whether a given book was worth the time commitment at all. But more importantly, Ogawa, echoing Watts, believed that skimming could often be a more effective strategy for understanding the main points of a book. This was especially true if one shifted one's attention away from the main body of the text in favor of paratexts. Prefaces and Table of Contents could deliver more clearly and succinctly the important arguments of a book, whereas the main body of the text itself was prone to complications and digressions.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ogawa Tameharu 小川為治, *Gakumon no hō* 學問之法, 4 vols., (Tokyo: Seizandō, 1872-75). See Maeda Tsutomu 前田勉, "Meiji zenki no 'gakusei' to kaidoku 明治前期の「学制」と会読," *Aichi Kyōiku Daigaku kenkyū hōkoku. Jinbun, shakaikagaku hen* 61 (2012): pp. 19-27.

<sup>10</sup> Isaac Watts, *The Improvement of the Mind* (Boston: J. Loring, 1821), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Watts, *Improvement*, pp. 39-41. Ogawa, *Gakumon*, vol. 3, p. 1a.

Departing from both Watts and Fukuzawa, however, Ogawa's *Method* offered a more nuanced classification of reading practices. Elaborating upon the definition of the best knowledge as "useful knowledge," Ogawa repeated Fukuzawa's criticism of the past age's conflation of deep reading with true learning. Reading should, in general, be conducted with an aim toward practical utility, rather than some inherent notion of classical or canonical texts.<sup>12</sup> Unlike Fukuzawa, however, Ogawa did not banish deep canonical reading entirely from his repertoire of scholarly practices. Instead, he developed a fivefold classification of books depending on how they should be read: 1) books that should be read (読むべき書); 2) books that should be read carefully (熟読 (よくよむ) すべき書); 3) books that should be perused (見るべき書); 4) books that should be perused in detail several times (再三細に見るべき書); 5) books that should be kept at one's side and meditated upon at length (必ず備て查考を資くべき書).<sup>13</sup>

Keeping up with the rapid pace of new knowledge necessitated that the majority of books would fall into the first category. Yet there were nevertheless some books – including the Four Books of Neo-Confucianism – that for Ogawa were still subject to deep reading. Ogawa's reasons for this were revealed in the final volume of his *Method*, where he argued that "usefulness" was ultimately part of a broader ethical stance. To equip oneself

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<sup>12</sup> 「人読書のみを以て学問と思ふべからず、就中実事の経験習練を勉むるこそ、則ち其功績を為すべき第一の要秘なれ・・・抑書籍は、他人の心に得たることを記せるのみのものなれば、自ら事を處し、芸業を試み、吾心力を勞して得たる如きの確切なることを読書にては、得らるべからず」. Ogawa, *Gakumon*, vol. 3, pp. 3b-4b.

<sup>13</sup> Ogawa, *Gakumon*, vol. 3, pp. 35b-36a



with useful knowledge was therefore a form of moral self-cultivation. In the end, Ogawa reminded readers, “morality and learning are one.”<sup>14</sup>

What we see then, emerging in these texts, is a delicate interplay of continuity and rupture in the nature of “learning” between Tokugawa and Meiji periods. Meiji did imply a new historical consciousness and a new set of meanings assigned to “learning,” as evidenced most violently in Fukuzawa’s crusade against Chinese Learning. But both Fukuzawa and Ogawa retained a distinct schema of reading practices inherited from the Tokugawa period. Chinese Learning, whether valuable or not, was associated with canonical deep reading. Western Learning, whether more as curiosity or more as usefulness, was associated with a broad and open field of reading across new books. These associations were consistent across the Tokugawa and early Meiji divide. The difference resided instead in their historical meaning. Once disparaged, Western Learning’s open reading through new books came to be praised as a necessary step toward civilization. Rather than the language of “epistemic rupture,” as some have seen it, the early Meiji period could be better described as a time in which a long-extant set of practices came to be articulated through new normative frameworks of premodern/modern and barbaric/civilized.<sup>15</sup>

Given this continuity, textbooks remained of vital importance during the early Meiji period, if not increasing in their value. Evidence may be found in an analysis of the English-language books in the library of the Kaisei Gakkō, and transferred over to Tokyo Imperial University in 1877 to form the initial basis of the Law and Literature

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<sup>14</sup> 「学者の自ら修むる所以を論ず。。。学問は道德と一体ならんことを要す」. Ogawa, *Gakumon*, vol. 4, p. 21b.

<sup>15</sup> To be clear, I am arguing against myself here: Hansun Hsiung, “Woman, Man, Abacus: A Tale of Enlightenment,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 72:1 (2012): pp. 1-42.

Department's collection. Though later histories boasted of the library's 11,703 English-language volumes, in reality these volumes could be reduced to less than two thousand unique titles.<sup>16</sup> The reason was that its collection comprised primarily duplicate copies of textbooks. Indeed, the Kaisei Gakkō's regulations defined its librarian's (書籍掛) duty as "the provision of reference works and textbooks for the use of courses."<sup>17</sup> So it is that we find 185 copies of *Webster's Primary Dictionary*, 102 copies of George Barker's *Text Book of Elementary Chemistry*; 176 copies of Goldsmith's *Grammar of Geography*; 117 copies of Warren's *Outlines of History*, just to name a few.<sup>18</sup> And it is not just the sheer number of these textbooks, but the way in which textbooks occupy the core reading for given disciplinary formations. Under "Literature," for instance, we find no original works, but instead 26 copies of Morley's *First Sketch of English Literature*, and 115 and 149 copies, respectively, of Sanders' *Union Reader*.<sup>19</sup> Under "Philosophy," we find 141 copies of Cowdery's *Moral Lessons*; 108 copies of Chambers' *Moral Class-Book*; 97 copies of the *Manual of Morals for Common Schools*.<sup>20</sup> There was one copy only of Mill's *On Liberty*, and one copy only of the first volume of Mill's *System of Logic*, but 45 copies of Killick's *Student's Handbook to Mill's Logic*. Similarly, there were only three copies of Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*, a two-volume work, but 53 copies of

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<sup>16</sup> Takano Akira 高野彰, *Teikoku Daigaku toshokan seiritsu no kenkyū: Meiji shoki Tōkyō Daigaku hō-ri-bungakubu toshokan-shi katei zōho* 帝国大学図書館成立の研究：明治初期東京大学法理文学部図書館史改訂増補 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2006), p. 88.

<sup>17</sup> 「参考書、教科書ニシテ箋ラ諸学授業ノ用ニ供スル」. Quoted in Takano Akira, *Teikoku Daigaku*, p. 69.

<sup>18</sup> *A Classified List of the English Books in the Tokio-Kaisei-Gakko* 東京開成学校文庫書目・英書之部 (1875)

<sup>19</sup> *A Classified List*, p. 12

<sup>20</sup> *A Classified List*, p. 17, and also *Supplementary Catalogue of the English Books in the Tokio Daigaku* (1878), p. 32.

the “People’s Edition” of Mill’s *Principles*, which abridged the original down to one volume.<sup>21</sup> These statistics tell a story. They inform us that to read Western “Literature” or “Philosophy” in early Meiji really meant to read primary-level anthologies or ethics textbooks. They inform us that an encounter with Mill in early Meiji was most likely an encounter with vulgarizations and digests. And they inform us, through the public nature of these catalogues, that all this entailed no great shame.

Yet if early Meiji was still an era of textbooks, then when and how did things change? One reason lay in equal and opposite reaction: the early Meiji proliferation of textbooks was itself to blame. By the mid-1880s, scholars were increasingly beset by the anxiety that the publishing sector had grown out of control. This perception was partially rooted in fact. The Imperial Library, predecessor of today’s National Diet Library, was founded in 1874 as a copyright library. Its catalogues indicate that in the space of just one decade – by 1884 – the number of titles copyrighted (30,790) had almost surpassed the number of titles in its collection of both print and manuscript books from prior to Meiji (30,923).<sup>22</sup> Comparable figures hold for personal collections. A survey of private collections of village elites in the Tama area at the end of Meiji indicates that 61% of books were Meiji publications. Of these Meiji publications, 32% were marked as educational works.<sup>23</sup>

An uneasy sense thus arose that one was awash in a sea of books. To this was added a suspicion of publishers’ commercial motives. Publishers were, as critics

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<sup>21</sup> *A Classified List*, p. 18.

<sup>22</sup> Nagao Munenori 長尾宗典, “Meiji-ki ni okeru gakumon hensei to toshokan 明治期における学問編成と図書館,” in *Kindai gakumon no kigen to hensei 近代学問の起源と編成*, ed. Ida Tarō 井田太郎 and Fujimaki Kazuhiro 藤巻和宏 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2014), pp. 62-82, esp. 68-69.

<sup>23</sup> Iwahashi Kiyomi 岩橋清美, *Kinsei Nihon no rekishi ishiki to jōhō kūkan 近世日本の歴史意識と情報空間* (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 2010), p. 288.

remarked, prone to titling and describing their works in misleading ways, enticing readers with false promises of knowledge.<sup>24</sup> Ironically, the scholarly response to this unease was to author even more books – books that would instruct readers in how to navigate these seas. Watanabe Ikarimaro 渡辺重石丸 (1837-1915) used precisely this maritime metaphor for his 1883 guide, *Routes through the Sea of Learning* 学海針路, claiming in advertisements that his slim pocketbook would inform readers of the “dangers of this sea, and the location of its harbors,” thereby acting as both “map” and “compass.”<sup>25</sup> In that same year, Yano Fumio’s 矢野文雄 (1851-1931) *Method of Reading Translated Books* 訳書読法 promised to teach readers which Western translations to read, the order in which they should be read, and strategies of compensation in case one had already started out “reading out of order.”<sup>26</sup> This same emphasis on “order” (順序) was also at the core of Ono Shōtō’s 小野松塘 1889 work, *Method of Academic Research* 学術研窮法, and Hoshino Hisanari’s 星野久成 *Method of Reading* 読書法 (1895). The latter, in its preface, offered a colorful warning against a trend toward “gluttonous” reading: to read too many things without discrimination is akin to “eating too much without digesting. Not only does it fail to nourish, but it's also bad for your stomach.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ono Shōtō 小野松塘, *Gakujutsu kenkyū hō* 学術研窮法 (Tokyo: Gangyokudō, 1889), p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> 「今後の学海に乗り出さんとする者、宜しく此書に就て学海の陰難、港津の所在、航行の順路等を知り、以て其方針を定むることを得べし、故に一言以て此書を評せば、学海の海図なり、学海の羅針盤なり」. Watanabe Ikarimaro 渡辺重石丸, *Gakkai shinro* 学海針路 (Tokyo: Dōseikan, 1883), p. 2a.

<sup>26</sup> Yano Fumio 矢野文雄, *Yakusho dokuhō* 訳書読法 (Tokyo: Hōchisha, 1883), p. [iii].

<sup>27</sup> 「「多く食ふて消化すること無きに同じ、唯に滋養の益をなさざるのみならず、却つて腸胃を害するの大損を蒙むらん耳」. Hoshino Hisanari 星野久成, *Dokushohō* 読書法 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1895), p. 3.

Of all the maps and compasses proposed to navigate these turbulent bibliographical seas, that which took deepest root were disciplines and disciplinary canons. Books such as *A Plan for Study* 学問之方針 (1892) and the above-cited *Method of Academic Research* featured chapters on “The outline of the disciplines” and “How to select a discipline,” offering reading lists for each field. Montesquieu, Adam Smith, and Bentham, for instance, were the key texts one should study if seeking to understand “political economy.”<sup>28</sup> We must therefore turn to an examination of Meiji views on the meaning of discipline and its role in learning and scholarly knowledge production, if we are to understand why intellectuals turned away from textbooks. Ultimately, it was from the intersection of these two different anxieties over order – too many books, and too little discipline – that canonical deep reading reappeared in a new guise: applied now to Western texts, and organized through disciplinary corpora.

As we glimpsed briefly in our discussion of Jakob Kaderli, the introduction of disciplines into the curricular structure of the Kaisei Gakkō was a messy affair, fraught with uncertainties in the first years of Meiji. Scholars agree, however, that by the end of the decade, circa 1878, disciplinary specializations finally triumphed as the definitive curricular structure at Tokyo Imperial University.<sup>29</sup> The impact of this turn was evident in the evolution of its library catalogs. The Tokugawa bibliographies used throughout this dissertation categorized Western books first simply as “Barbarian,” “Dutch,” or “Western” books, then later as “Dutch,” “English,” “French,” and “German” books. This was true, too, of the Kaisei Gakkō as late as 1874, when in response to an inquiry by the Ministry

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<sup>28</sup> 「学問之選択, 諸学科の要旨及び其の書物」. Miyagawa Tetsujirō 宮川鉄次郎, *Gakumon no hōshin* 学問之方針 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1892).

<sup>29</sup> Nagao, “Meiji-ki ni okeru gakumon hensei,” p. 62.

of Education, they submitted a preliminary catalogue divided into Japanese, Chinese, English, French, German, and Dutch books.<sup>30</sup> But in the course of the following decade, these would be replaced by a classificatory system of disciplinary categories, increasingly streamlined. The above-cited catalogue of English books from 1875 sprawled over 31 divisions, including “Commerce,” “Surveying and Navigation,” and “Voyages and Travels.” By 1888, the catalog for the library of Tokyo Imperial University had simplified matters down to nine categories: Theology, Philosophy, Literature, History and Geography, Law and Social Science, Mathematics and Physical Science, Engineering, Medicine, and Miscellaneous Works.<sup>31</sup> Nor was reclassification the only consequence. Already, in 1877, the library announced plans to cease acquiring multiple copies of textbooks, and instead concentrate its resources on the acquisition of single copies of specialist monographs.<sup>32</sup>

Parallel with these changes in the organization of books was a new intellectual discourse on scholarship itself. Starting in the latter half of this decade, we see the emergence of a new definition of “learning” different both from the Neo-Confucian paradigm of canonical deep reading, as well as the “useful knowledge” of Fukuzawa’s era. This sensibility reached its highest expression in the career of Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 (1836-1916), the first president of Tokyo Imperial University.<sup>33</sup> In his diaries, he reports delivering “admonishments” to faculty in Japanese and Chinese letters, because

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<sup>30</sup> Takano Akira, *Teikoku Daigaku*, p. 88.

<sup>31</sup> *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku toshokan yōsho bunrui mokuroku* 東京図書館洋書分類目録 (1888).

<sup>32</sup> Takano Akira, *Teikoku Daigaku*, p. 89.

<sup>33</sup> Katō was in fact both first and third president, serving from 1877-86, then again from 1890-93.

“they did not understand *gakumon*.”<sup>34</sup> Katō’s discontent with Japanese and Chinese misperceptions of *gakumon* continued in subsequent years, with extended lectures on the meaning of *gakumon*, both at the Japan Academy (学士会院), and upon other formal occasions.<sup>35</sup> These were eventually collected and published in 1903 under the title *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences: On Gakumon* 学芸叢談・学問の話.

Katō’s understanding of *gakumon* differed in key ways from the critique of Tokugawa “learning” in Fukuzawa and others. Specifically, Katō’s *gakumon* required knowledge to cohere into a systematic order – “knowledge arranged into a unity,” as went his specific phrasing.<sup>36</sup> According to Katō, Japanese and Chinese intellectuals had, historically, shown themselves unable to grasp this concept. Their failure was reflected in the lack of adequate disciplinary consciousness. East Asian scholars “gained knowledge simply by reading books,” without “even the slightest attempt to create proper departments and establish a system of learning by fixed specializations.”<sup>37</sup>

This divergence from Fukuzawa and Ogawa entailed, in turn, a whole host of other distinctions. For an earlier generation, the superiority of Western knowledge lay in

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<sup>34</sup> 「法文学部にて文学部教員を集め、学問と云ふことに就き卑見を述て諸先生に質す・・・是は和漢教員の学問と云ふを知らざる故戒むる為めなり」. See *Katō Hiroyuki nikki* 『加藤弘之日記』, transcribed by Nakano Minoru 中野実, in *Tōkyō daigaku-shi kiyō* 東京大学史紀要 10 (1992): p. 77.

<sup>35</sup> *Katō Hiroyuki nikki*, p. 78, 80, 81; Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之, “Butsuri gakkō no sotsugyōshiki ni nozomite *gakumon* no shinro ryōen naru wo nobu 物理学校の卒業式に臨て学問の進路遼遠なるを述べ,” in *Katō Hiroyuki bunsho* 加藤弘之文書, vol. 3 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1990), pp. 410-14.

<sup>36</sup> 「簡単に云へば常識以上の統一整備した知識と云ふことを学問と云ふ、との定義として宜からうと思ふ」. Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之, *Gakumon no hanashi* 学問の話 (Tokyo: Kaiseikan, 1903), p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> 「併しながら一口に云へば、唯書物を読んで知識を得ると云ふだけで・・・チャンと学科を色々に立て、専門を定めて学ぶと云ふやうな制度は少しも立たなんだ。唯博く書物を読んで知識を広めると云ふだけである・・・唯人々の勝手に依って自分で専門とすると云ふやうなことであった。始めから学校に専門の学科が立ててあって、さうしてそれを各々学ばせると云ふやうな制度と云ふものは少しも立たなかった。それがどうも西洋などと較べて見ると、大変な違ひである」. Katō, *Gakumon no hanashi*, pp. 15-16.

its emphasis on usefulness. For Katō, it lay in an insistence on epistemic order. For an earlier generation, Tokugawa scholars had focused too much on a narrow canon. For Katō, East Asian scholars in general were at fault for “gaining knowledge by reading broadly, without establishing disciplinary distinctions.”<sup>38</sup> Between Fukuzawa and Ogawa, on the one side, and Katō, on the other, there was a fundamental incompatibility. Canonical deep reading was never a problem for Katō. The problem was that the canon had never been organized by discipline.

In fact, in Katō’s mind, Fukuzawa’s “useful knowledge” symbolized all that was wrong with Japan’s understandings of *gakumon*. The singular coherence of epistemic systems could never be found in “useful knowledge,” because “useful knowledge” indiscriminately encompassed everything of practical benefit, from metaphysics to bookkeeping. In order to introduce discipline into Japan, it was thus necessary to demolish the whole paradigm of early Meiji. “At its roots,” Katō declared, “*gakumon* has not a whit to do with its practical use for society.”<sup>39</sup> Rather, the thoughts of the scholar must be “directed single-mindedly to the discovery of the truth of the universe, with no other goals.”<sup>40</sup> This “truth of the universe” might, Katō admitted, be of practical use, either now or in the future. But such benefits were only incidental. More often than not,

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<sup>38</sup> 「日本の徳川幕府時分に学校が出来て、学問が盛になったのに比して見ると、大変な違ひである。日本には唯今言った通り唯種々の書物を読ませて知識を得させると云ふので、別に専門学科の差別と云ふものは立ててなかった。又経学史学文章学位の外に別段に他の学問と云ふ程のものはない・・・西洋には其時分から大学には右申す如く種々の学科が段々揃って来た。学問の開けが日本と西洋と大分違って居る。又支那の様子を見ても、支那は学問の国と云ふ位であるけれども、是も別段学科の定めと云ふものもなし」. Katō, *Gakumon no hanashi*, p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> 「(学問は) 元来社会の実用とは丸で縁のないものである」. Katō, *Gakumon no hanashi*, p. 40.

<sup>40</sup> 「学者は唯一心に宇宙の真理を発見しやうと云ふ考のみでやったことである。外に一つも目的はないのである」. Katō, *Gakumon no hanashi*, p. 41.



truth might be of no practical use at all. Nevertheless, it was the duty of *gakumon* to pursue it.<sup>41</sup>

All of which sounds at first reasonable. Who, after all, objects to truth? The seeming appeal of Katō's scholarly ethos, however, hides within it a far more contentious transformation. If a scholar were serious about pursuing the truth, then he should, according to Katō, read certain things. Philosophers, exhorted Katō, "must read Kant, read Hegel"; social scientists "must read Comte, read Spencer."<sup>42</sup> These thinkers, for Katō exemplified truth.

In short, Katō's "truth" forced the study of Western knowledge into a paradigm of canonicity, imposing upon it an order of books that had until that point been absent. Following Katō's lead, Japanese scholars of the 1880s concentrated their labors on elaborating a canon and order of Western books that would lead to the "truth." Consider, for example, the case of Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1855-1944), one of the key voices of Meiji academic philosophy.<sup>43</sup> Inoue was a motivating force behind at least two different late-Meiji study manuals: 1891's *The Key to Studying*, and 1895's *Method*

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<sup>41</sup> 「是から日本人の学問と云ふことに就いての見解の誤つて居る点を述べて見たいと思ふ。通常、日本人で学問のことを論ずる人の言ふ所を聞くに、学問と云ふものは凡べて社会の実用になるものでなければいかない。社会の実用にならぬ所の学問と云ふものは全く空論であると、かう云ふやうなことを言つて居る。それが一寸聞いた所では尤もなやうに思はれるなれども、能く考へて見れば、大變間違つた理屈である。・・・学問と云ふものは畢竟真理と云ふものを研究探尋するのが其目的である。而して其真理と云ふものには今日直に社会の爲になるものもある。又今日直に社会の爲にならずしてモット進歩した後世の社会のためになるものもあらう。併し又後世社会が如何様に進歩しても遂に社会の実用にならぬ真理もあるであらうと思はれる。併しそれも矢張真理であつて、此等凡べての真理を研究するのが即ち学問と云ふものであると云ふ道理を知らぬければならぬ」. Katō, *Gakumon no hanashi*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>42</sup> Katō, "Butsuri gakkō," p. 412.

<sup>43</sup> See the description in Clinton Godart, "'Philosophy' or 'Religion'? The Confrontation with Foreign Categories in Late Nineteenth Century Japan," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69, no. 1 (2008): pp. 71-91.

of *Academic Self-Study*.<sup>44</sup> Prior to this, however, were years of bibliographical groundwork, concentrated particularly in a two-year sojourn through Germany, France, and the UK. The diary of Inoue's *Wanderjahre* offers insight into the personal process involved in deciphering disciplinary canons from the West during this transitional period of Meiji.

On the eve of his departure from Japan in mid-February of 1887, Inoue defined the goals of his journey with a poem:

Offering my farewells with slow reluctance,  
I set forth outside the city limits.  
Mount Fuji brushed against the sky,  
Then with the setting sun, darkness.  
From now on, my sights will be set  
On one thing alone:  
To seek out the roots  
Of Occidental philosophy.<sup>45</sup>

To “seek out the roots of Occidental philosophy” by studying abroad in Europe would seem reasonable enough. Rather than learning indirectly through books, one could learn at the feet of the masters themselves. Yet if Inoue's diary during these years is any indication, learning at the feet of the masters meant, for the most part, learning about which books to read. Inoue's conversations with his European interlocutors only rarely concern a substantive exchange of ideas. Instead, time and again, his dialogues read more like interrogations: “What are the best Hegelian books?” “Is there a complete works of Victor Cousin?” “What are the best commentaries on Taine?” “Which books exemplify

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<sup>44</sup> Yoshida Minosuke 吉田巳之助, *Seikō suishi kangaku yōketsu* 成功遂志勤学要訣 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1891); Izumi Kikuzō 飯泉規矩三, *Gakujutsu jishū hō* 學術自修法 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1895).

<sup>45</sup> 「遅々惜別出都門、蓮嶽摩天落日昏、自此所期唯一事、西洋哲学欲窮源」. Inoue Tetsujirō, *Inoue Tetsujirō nikki*, vol. 1, transcribed by Fukui Junko 福井純子, in *Tōkyō daigaku-shi kiyō* 東京大学史紀要 11 (1993), pp. 25-63, p. 25.

Aristotelianism?”<sup>46</sup> These questions were directed both at fellow academics, as well as to publishing houses. While in Berlin, for instance, Inoue made it a point to visit Duncker & Humblot and ask them about the writers in their catalogue.<sup>47</sup> While in London, he conducted a survey of major publishers, in order to chart the philosophical leanings of different houses.<sup>48</sup> In short, Inoue’s quest for the “roots of Occidental philosophy” was the quest for an order of books: a map of the disciplinary canon of Western philosophy.

And this order, it should be noted, was mapped in anticipation of reading, rather than from having already read, the books in question. Meeting the French philosopher Paul Janet in spring of 1887, Inoue sung the praises of Janet’s *Crise philosophique*. It was, however, only two years later, on July 7, 1889, that Inoue actually began reading the *Crise philosophique* for the first time in his life.<sup>49</sup> In an encounter with Ernest Renan on June 6, 1887, Inoue named Kant as his favorite philosopher, and noted all the pains he had struggling through the dense prose of Kant’s first *Critique*.<sup>50</sup> But his diary indicates otherwise: the first time Inoue read *Critique of Pure Reason* was not until May of 1890.<sup>51</sup> Inoue’s dissembling may at first seem the stuff of nervous laughter. Who among us has never alleged knowledge of a book she hasn’t really read? In lying and lying repeatedly, however, Inoue also revealed a more basic truth of his time. By the end of the 1880s, a new set of norms governing Western knowledge had taken root in Japan.

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<sup>46</sup> Inoue Tetsujirō nikki, vol 1., pp. 32-33, 37, 42-43.

<sup>47</sup> Inoue Tetsujirō nikki, vol. 1, p. ??.

<sup>48</sup> He appears to have been particularly interested in which publisher houses were pro- and contra Herbert Spencer. Inoue Tetsujirō nikki, vol. 1, p. 51.

<sup>49</sup> Inoue Tetsujirō nikki, vol. 1, p. 38, p. 58.

<sup>50</sup> Inoue Tetsujirō nikki, vol. 1, p. 41.

<sup>51</sup> Inoue Tetsujirō nikki, vol. 2, *Tōkyō daigaku-shi kiyō* 東京大学史紀要 12 (1994), p. 3.

Once, Koga Kin'ichirō read Dutch penny magazines, and Yanagawa Shunsan read Baker's *Circle of Knowledge*. Once, students at Tokyo Imperial University read Mill through abridgments and vulgarizations, and Western "philosophy" meant for them Chambers' *Moral Class-Book*. The texts they read were cheap, popular; they were unfit, or at least never designed, for the hands of elite scholars. Despite this, there was no anxiety, no shame evidenced by the Japanese readers of textbooks. At times, even, they celebrated the proliferation of such works designed for easy comprehension. Founded on curiosity, or on practical utility, learning the West was less a question of what one "should be reading" or "should have read," than a simple imperative that one "should read."

By Inoue's time, however, disciplinary canons of Western knowledge had emerged to enforce a hierarchy of books. Certain books had to be read in order to claim legitimate membership in a given field. And, if one hadn't read them yet, the convenient choice was to lie about it until one had. The question of what Western books to read was no longer a matter of curiosity, nor a matter of utility. Both truth and utility were, in the end, too far rooted in individual whim, in unsystematic value judgments of what aroused the mind, or what could be of use. The new paradigm – Katō called it "truth" – claimed freedom from such caprice. But as Inoue's experiences show, this "truth" itself sprung from a dislocated desire: the desire to be recognized in the eyes of Westerners as knowing the right things. From that point onward, this dislocated desire formed the basis of intellectual life in modern Japan. In 1890, Katō Hiroyuki was elected to his third term as president of Tokyo Imperial University, serving until 1893. In 1892, the textbooks of early Meiji were removed from the university's library's collections.

## Tensions and Ironies of the New Order of Books

Paradigms may achieve hegemony, but they are never without resistance and contradiction. As can be expected, some thinkers found fault with Katō and his views, claiming that the new *gakumon* was dangerously vacant of a compelling moral compass. More often than not, these calls for a moral grounds of learning were paired with attempts to restore the Four Books in curricula. Though an early proponent of Westernization active in the Meiji Six Society, Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹 (1828-1902), in his later years, came to be one of the most prolific voices to attack the moral emptiness of Meiji *gakumon*. In his writings, we see again that pattern so characteristic of the Meiji period wherein echoes of the Tokugawa past were resurrected as problems of the present. Tokugawa scholars had once denounced Western Learning for lacking a dedicated canon that could address questions of moral virtue. While conceding his admiration for the “precision” (精密) of knowledge achieved through disciplinary specialization, Nishimura nonetheless chastised his contemporaries for forgetting the fundamental fact that to be a “scholar” was to cultivate virtue. Disciplinary canons provided a guide for proficiency and professionalization. They did not offer instruction, however, in how to become a virtuous human being. Requiring scholars to be fluent in the Confucian classics was thus one means of placing morality back at the center of intellectual life.<sup>52</sup>

It is ironically fitting, then, that just as disciplinary canons solidified their hold in Japan, and as opponents militated a return to the Confucian classics – that just at this time,

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<sup>52</sup> Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹, *Dokusho shidai* 読書次第 (Tokyo: Nihon kōdōkan, 1893). For instance: 「一たび儒教を廃してより、之に代りて正心修身の道を講すべきの学問なし」「従前の学問ならば是等の諸賢諸儒の法に尊ふときは十分なる事にて、別に方案を立つるを要せざる事なれども、近年教育の法一変し、旧来の学問のみにては不足の憾あるを免かれず」「学問は、専ら正心修身の道、則ち世に謂ふ所の道德学を指す者なり」

an interest in elementary textbooks began to emerge in the writings of Chinese reformers. This was most visible in the work of Kang Youwei. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Kang was an ardent student of the Meiji Restoration, submitting a study of Restoration policies to the Guangxu emperor in the wake of the First Sino-Japanese War. There, Kang had already argued that the secrets of Japan's rapid success lay in its attitude toward the study and learning of the West. Japan had "sent many gentlemen to the West for study, appointed Westerners as advisers, thrown themselves into the translation of Western books, and erected schools far and wide from universities down to elementary schools." "This," Kang wrote, "was what gave the Restoration its essential character, raising the country and energizing it."<sup>53</sup>

Kang's study of the Meiji Restoration has received frequent mention as a link between Japanese modernization and the ideas of the Chinese Self-Strengthening Movement.<sup>54</sup> Relatively little attention, however, has been paid to another document, submitted simultaneously to the Emperor along with his history of Meiji. This document was titled *Bibliography of Japanese Books* 日本書目志.<sup>55</sup> Kang's rationale for compiling this bibliography was openly stated in its preface. Much in the way he had argued that Japan's true success lay in its receptive attitude toward Western Learning, so too did Kang propose that "the strength of the West does not reside in its military or its guns."

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<sup>53</sup> "大派卿士游學泰西、而用西人為顧問、盡譯泰西之書、廣開大小之學、於是氣象維新、舉國奮躍矣。" Kang Youwei 康有為, Preface, *Riben bianzheng kao* 日本變政考 (1896), in *Kang Nanhai xiansheng yizhu huikan* 康南海先生遺著彙刊, vol. 10 (Taipei: Hongye shuju, 1976), 1a.

<sup>54</sup> For a look at Kang's relation to Japan in the context of the Hundred Days Reform of 1898, see Urs Matthias Zachmann, *China and Japan in the Late Meiji Period: China Policy and the Japanese Discourse on National Identity, 1895-1904* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 89-127.

<sup>55</sup> The only discussion in English of this bibliography appears in Lianbin Dai, "China's Bibliographic Tradition and the History of the Book," *Book History* 17 (2014): pp. 17-50 (Kang is discussed on pp. 26-27). Dai does not draw any connection to Peking University, or to existing Meiji catalogues.

Instead, Western strength came from the fact that “learned gentlemen study books of new techniques.”<sup>56</sup> China’s problems lay not only in the failure of its literate class to study these books. More fundamentally, they lay in a lack of these books themselves. “We may want to open mines,” wrote Kang, “but we have no metallurgy and no books on mining.” The list continued: “We may want to grow plants, but we have no botany, and no books on botany; we may want to breed livestock, but we have no study of livestock, and no books on raising livestock; we may want to produce manufactures, but we have no engineering, and no books on engineering; we may want to stimulate commerce, but we have no study of commerce, and no books on commerce.”<sup>57</sup> Luckily, according to Kang, all these books existed in Japan. And thus it would be by importing Japanese books that China might enter modernity.

Specifically, the Japanese books that Kang had in mind were mostly textbooks. Kang was already, by 1896, no stranger to the power of textbooks. His own discovery of Darwin had come from a reading of the *Elements of Geology* by Charles Lyell, and researchers have shown that it was Lyell who shaped Kang’s understanding of evolution.<sup>58</sup> Unsurprisingly, then, the bulk of Kang’s *Bibliography* comprises Japanese translations of European-language textbooks. We find, for instance, the whole eight-volume run of Chambers’ *Elementary Science Readers*, translated into Japanese by Takeda Yasunosuke 武田安之助; we find J.A. Wentzke’s *Compendium of Psychology*

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<sup>56</sup> “然泰西之強不在軍兵砲械之末而在其士人之學新法之書。” Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi* 日本書目志 (1896), in *Kang Nanhai xiansheng yizhu huikan*, vol. 11, pp. 1-2.

<sup>57</sup> “故欲開礦而無礦學無礦書、欲種植而無植物學無植物書、欲牧畜而無牧學無牧書、欲製造而無工學無工書、欲振商業而無商學無商書。” Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi*, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Timothy Brook, “Capitalism and the Writing of Modern History in China,” in *China and Historical Capitalism: Genealogies of Sinological Knowledge*, ed. Brook and Gregory Blue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 119.

and *Logic for Secondary Schools*, translated into Japanese as *Ladder to Philosophy* 哲学楷梯 by Imai Tsuneo 今井恒郎.<sup>59</sup> But it was not only translations. Unlicensed reprints of Western textbooks, made by Japanese publishers, also found their way into Kang's bibliography, as did anthologies, abridgments, and vulgarizations of Western texts by Japanese hands.<sup>60</sup> Under "Philosophy," Kang recommended Tatsumi Shōjiro's 辰巳小二郎 *The Meaning of Philosophy*, a book which boasted, in its preface, of having succeeded at "distilling the general ideas of Herbert Spencer down to only 128 pages."<sup>61</sup> And, most ironically, we find in Kang's bibliography of "Japanese books" various textbooks first produced in Chinese by missionaries, then reprinted and annotated in Japan – the world geography of Devello Z. Sheffield, an American Presbyterian stationed in Shanghai, or the works of W.A.P. Martin, head of the Beijing Tongwenguan.<sup>62</sup> From Chinese missionary presses, into Japanese hands, and then back into China, many of Kang's "Japanese" solutions to China's woes issued first from the Chinese mainland itself.

The traces of Sino-Japanese exchange in Kang's *Bibliography* do not stop at book titles. Although commentators have situated Kang's bibliography within Chinese bibliographical traditions, none have yet noticed the similarities it bears to early Meiji bibliographies, such as those of the Kaisei Gakkō and Tokyo Imperial University during its initial years. That Kang would have been aware of these is not unlikely. His study of

<sup>59</sup> Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi*, p. 40 (理科讀本八冊 武田安之助譯補), p. 72 (哲学楷梯 一冊 今井恒郎譯).

<sup>60</sup> See the 翻刻 section of Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi*, p. 108.

<sup>61</sup> Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi*, p. 71 (斯氏哲学要義 一冊 辰巳小二郎譯).

<sup>62</sup> Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi*, pp. 129-30 (訂正 萬國通鑑 6冊 美国謝衛樓著 日本岡千仞訓点 二圓五角 (p. 129), 波氏 萬國公法 6冊 秋吉省吾訳 一圓七角 海氏 萬國公法 1冊 内務省蔵版 1圓五角 公法會通 五冊 丁韞良 一圓三角).



the Meiji Restoration demonstrated a particular interest in the genealogy that led from the Corps for the Translation of Barbarian Books, through the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books and the Kaisei Gakkō, arriving finally at Tokyo Imperial University.<sup>63</sup> Like the early Meiji catalogues, Kang made a gesture toward disciplinary categories, but in practice proved unable to streamline or contain them, adopting fifteen general categories that, within the main body of the bibliography itself, broke down into over two hundred subheadings. Like the early Meiji catalogues, Kang lists elementary textbooks alongside advanced works without discrimination, as parallel sources for study. Perhaps the only major difference in Kang's bibliography was the inclusion of book prices.

The inclusion of prices, however, in fact draws out another similarity between Kang's bibliography and the catalogues of the Kaisei Gakkō and early Tokyo Imperial University – a similarity that moves beyond organization and genre. Kang, along with fellow reformer Liang Qichao, was one of the key early architects of the transition from the Beijing Tongwenguan into Peking University. Together, they drafted the first set of regulations for the university. Among these regulations was the creation of a translation bureau (譯書局) housed within the university. Unsurprisingly, the principal books to be translated, according to Kang's plan, were textbooks, both Western and Japanese.<sup>64</sup> Imperial approval for this translation bureau was given in 1898. The prices listed in Kang's 1896 *Bibliography* can therefore be interpreted as an anticipation of the future

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<sup>63</sup> Kang Youwei, *Riben bianzheng kao*, pp. 125ff.

<sup>64</sup> Xiaoqing Diana Lin, *Peking University: Chinese Scholarship and Intellectuals, 1898-1937* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press), pp. 17, 19, 27-28; Timothy B. Weston, *The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), p. 45.

needs of this bureau – to wit, a need to acquire from Japan the textbooks to be used in their own university.

### **The Truth Will Set You Free**

Uncovering the tale of textbooks has thus brought to light, I hope, a series of contestations over the nature of scholarship that continue today as fundamental tensions of modern Japanese intellectual life. In changing the definitions of what Western knowledge was and how it was to be pursued, Japan, too, changed the texts it read – or at least the texts it should be reading. The nearly 1500 early-Meiji textbooks that survived the Great Kantō Earthquake were not forgotten because, minor works, they were inherently forgettable. They were forgotten, instead, because Meiji wanted to forget them.

Yet much as the Great Kantō Earthquake, large-scale historical disruptions have a way of resurrecting those things we would rather keep out of memory. In the aftermath of World War II, the former Imperial Library at Ueno was abolished, and its holdings transferred to the newly-established National Diet Library in Nagata-chō. During the process of cataloguing books for transfer, bibliographers stumbled upon an old storage building in the Ueno complex – a wooden building that had fortuitously survived the fire-bombing of Tokyo.

In this building were 3,630 Western imprints, mostly nineteenth-century Dutch publications, bearing such titles as *Basics of Astronomy*, *Introduction to General Geography*, *Textbook of Geography*, and *Schoolbook of Natural Science*.<sup>65</sup> They were found, allegedly, in “utter disarray...bundles of books of all sorts, sizes, and conditions

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<sup>65</sup> *Grondbeginseln in der sterrekunde, Inleiding tot de algemeene geographie, Leerboek der aardrijkskunde*, and *Natuurkundig schoolboek*. For a summary of the findings, see Asakura Naohiko 朝倉治彦 and Ishiyama Yō 石山洋, “Bansho Shirabesho kyūzō Ransho tōki 蕃書調所旧蔵蘭書割記,” *Ueno toshokan kiyō* 1 (1954): pp. 1-45.

were piled.”<sup>66</sup> Further research revealed that these books – these textbooks – once belonged to the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, placed aside after Dutch lost currency as a language of study.

Few visitors to the NDL today, where these books are now held, have called up the Institute’s Dutch textbooks for viewing. The collection, undervalued, is in an admitted state of disrepair; one can ask the librarian of the Rare Books and Old Materials room for a look at their “Preservation Ledger of Dutch Books,” an internal document that records the extent of their destruction.<sup>67</sup> With insufficient patrons for these volumes, however, no organized effort has yet been made for their physical conservation, though many have been microfilmed.

What all visitors will see, however, walking into the NDL’s central reading room, is a pair of granite inscriptions above the main circulation desk. The left, in Koine Greek, reads *Hē alētheia eleutherōsei humās*; the right, in Japanese, reads *Shinri ga warera o jiyū ni suru*.<sup>68</sup> The left quotes from the Gospel of John, 8:32 – “The truth will set you free.” The right, appearing at first to be in a translation, in fact introduces a curious asymmetry of pronouns. “The truth,” the Japanese declares, “will set *us* free.”<sup>69</sup>

This architecture of call and response through a language of truth exemplifies, I propose, the modern intellectual situation of Japan as it emerged from the 1880s onward. The West, as “truth,” summons Japan, addressing it in the second person; Japan replies

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<sup>66</sup> Marius Jansen, “New Materials for the Intellectual History of Nineteenth-Century Japan,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20, no. 2-3 (1957), p. 569.

<sup>67</sup> 蘭書保存簿. This is an internal document, but can be consulted upon request.

<sup>68</sup> Η ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΣΕΙ ΥΜΑΣ; 真理がわれらを自由にする.

<sup>69</sup> Emphasis added.

by taking up this injunction, inhabiting the position of Western “truth.”<sup>70</sup> In dismissing both curiosity and usefulness as criteria of Western knowledge, and in declaring “truth” to be the goal of scholarship, thinkers such as Katō Hiroyuki did not set Japanese minds free. They inaugurated, rather, new criteria of selection and discrimination, new normative judgments about the value of books, about what one should and must read, and what one should forget reading, all in terms of what they thought the West would have them read, rather than what they themselves might have freely chosen. Kant and Hegel, Comte and Spencer. Far from freedom, “truth” meant submission to another order of books.

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<sup>70</sup> In fact, the idea of engraving this as a motto for the National Diet Library came from a suggestion by the historian Hani Gorō, who had come across a building on the campus of the University of Freiburg on whose front was inscribed, “Die Wahrheit wird euch frei machen” – the truth will set *you* free. For a more detailed history, see Inamura Tetsumoto 稲村徹元, Takagi Hiroko 高木浩子, “‘Shinri ga warera wo jiyū ni suru’ bunken-kō 真理がわれらを自由にする」文献考,” *Sankō shoshi kenkyū* 参考書誌研究 35, no. 2 (1989): pp. 1-7.

**EELS:  
A Coda**



**6.1 Yanagawa Shunsan, ca. 1867:** From Osatake Takeshi, *Shinbun zasshi no sōritsusha*.

The *Anguilla japonica*, a species of freshwater eel native to Japan, was not always known by this name. Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), the first to describe it to the world, used simply the emic term *unagi*. A century later, Philip Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), who collected four specimens for shipment back to the Netherlands, settled upon a compromise between Latin genus and local vocabulary: the *Muraena unagi*. It was only after von Siebold's specimens arrived in Leiden that curators at the National Museum of Natural History, seeking to create a classified catalog from Siebold's notes, nationalized the *unagi*, in the process erasing its name. Shedding the skin of native nomenclature, the *Anguilla japonica* was born.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, vol. 1 (London: J.G. Scheuchzer, 1727), p. 137, see also Table XII [plates in back of volume]; Philip Franz von Siebold, *Fauna japonica*, 5 vols., ed. C.J. Temminck and H. Schlegel (Leiden: 1833-50), II:258-60. On the *Fauna Japonica* series produced by Leiden, see Masuzo

Say the word *unagi* anywhere in Japan today, however, and you will be greeted not with a history of science, but with a reflex of salivation. Sliced in half, filleted, skewered, and glazed in a sweet soy-based sauce before being broiled over an open flame, *unagi* is a beloved national dish. Approximately 100,000 tons of eel are consumed annually in Japan, this single country accounting for 70% of the world's share.<sup>2</sup> Amidst its nationwide popularity, one area, in particular, boasts of *unagi* as a major regional specialty (名物): the former province of Owari, now located in modern Aichi Prefecture. There, after preparation by the method above, eels are chopped into thin thumb-sized strips, and mixed into a large container of rice. Diners may then scoop from this communal container into a set of small individual bowls, each with a different combination of seasonings, so as to enjoy a variety of flavors parceled across smaller portions.<sup>3</sup>

Broiled eel was the favorite dish of Yanagawa Shunsan, born in Owari in early 1832. Indeed, during the craze for European cuisine that gripped Westernizing intellectuals in the waning Tokugawa and early Meiji years, Yanagawa campaigned to have Japanese-style *unagi* served alongside Western spitchcock and eel galantine, in addition to more standard dishes such as *bœuf miroton* and risotto.<sup>4</sup> But it is not his taste

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Ueno, "The Western Influence on Natural History in Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 19, no. 3/4 (1964): pp. 315-39.

<sup>2</sup> Mari Kuroki, Martien J.P. van Oijen, and Katsumi Tsukamoto, "Eels and the Japanese: An Inseparable, Long-Standing Relationship," in *Eels and Humans*, ed. Kuroki and Tsukamoto (Tokyo: Springer Japan, 2014), pp. 91-108.

<sup>3</sup> This method of serving broiled eel is known as *hitsumabushi* (櫃まぶし), referring to the act of mixing (*mabusu*) and the large container of rice (*hitsu*). See the entry for *hitsumabushi* in *Nihon kokugo daijiten*. See also "Hitsumabushi: Zenkoku de dokuji no mikaku ひつまぶし——全国で独自の味覚," *Asahi shinbun* 12 April 2002.

<sup>4</sup> To gain support, Yanagawa in fact wrote free ad copy for early restaurants that specialized in European cuisine. See Maenobō Yō 前坊洋, "Rokumeikan zengo no seiyō ryōriya 鹿鳴館前後の西洋料理屋,"

for eels alone that prompts me to take up Yanagawa Shunsan as the subject of this coda. Rather, my interest lies in the incongruous appearance of Yanagawa's efforts to place *unagi* on Western menus alongside his more reputable service as head of the Kaiseijo in the 1860s; alongside his attempts to spread an understanding of Western mathematics, history, and physics; alongside his contributions to dictionaries of Dutch, English, and French – but also his introductions for Japanese audiences on the art of Western chess. We have seen Yanagawa's name scattered throughout the pages of this dissertation. The time has now come to take stock of his life and output, diagnosing through it the contours of an epistemic culture that was driven out from the world of Japan's intellectual elites by the end of the nineteenth century.

For the strange mix of intellectual pursuits embodied by Yanagawa calls back to us that familiar feeling of the chaos, confusion, and occasional irreverence of Western knowledge in Japan before it became disciplined into a canonical seriousness. The aim of this dissertation has been to demonstrate that such hybridity was neither a random process, nor an outcome of some unique Japanese misunderstanding of Western knowledge. It was, instead, the product of a moment when cheap pedagogical print exploded on the global scene and, by circulating through peculiar and unexpected pathways across the world, transformed the very Western knowledge it purported to carry into alternative hybrid forms.

These transformations entailed at times material damage to books, as in the case of the *Nederlandsch Magazijn*. They involved at times alternative layouts, formats, and *mise en page*, as in the case of Baker's *Circle of Knowledge*. They relied upon colonial

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*Kindai Nihon kenkyū* 近代日本研究 5 (1988): p. 104 n. 18; also Maenobō Yō 前坊洋, "Miku to Maruzen 三久と丸善," *Gakutō* 學鐙 99, no. 1 (2002): pp. 12-15.

bureaucrats and missionaries, certainly, but also necessarily upon smugglers and vagabond charlatans. They indicate to us that what we call “Western knowledge” came to be refigured into something different long before it arrived on the shores of Nagasaki and Edo. Their protracted and connected histories thus preclude any easy discourse of East and West without due attention to sites of mediation in between. They make it impossible to speak singularly of globalization of knowledge as a history of commerce and empire, without also attending to the fortuitous conjunctures and alignments whereby certain texts fall out of their designated communication circuit into new networks of circulation. Ultimately, we may say this: Western knowledge as a great specter, in the way postcolonial theory has portrayed it, was a later invention. It was forged in the minds of a succeeding generation of scholars and intellectuals, through their own anxieties and shames, their fears of inadequacy. But its emergence was not inevitable, and the epistemic culture of mid-nineteenth century Japan stands as proof of another possibility, another history of knowledge between East and West.

As quoted in previous chapters, Yanagawa Shunsan was one of many who, unburdened by fears over the status of cheap pedagogical print, enthusiastically celebrated the way in which such books provided access all at once to a wealth of knowledge otherwise difficult to obtain via more specialist publications, since the latter were difficult to understand, and even more difficult to obtain. Textbooks by missionaries in China, Baker’s *Circle of Knowledge*, the works of the Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen – these works were, in Yanagawa’s words, “a great blessing upon all the



people” and “a great benefit for the country’s prosperity and civilization,” for they were easy enough to learn from “without the aid of teachers and friends.”<sup>5</sup>

Yet Yanagawa’s attachment to this genre of print is likely also one of the principal reasons why he has slipped through the cracks of Japanese intellectual history.<sup>6</sup> Our image of the intellectual is anchored in authorship. We are trained to interpret hefty treatises, sustained discourses that more often than not come to us in volumes with the words *œuvres*, or *gesammelte Werke*, or *zenshū* on their spines. Yanagawa Shunsan, despite being highly prolific, produced few of these “works.” Instead, the majority of books that bear his name assign him alternately the role of “corrector/editor” (閲, 校), “editor/compiler” (編, 輯) or “translator” (訳, 和解), and only rarely that of “author” (著).<sup>7</sup> On account of this, we have few programmatic statements from which to reconstruct any consistent overarching philosophy, save incidental remarks in paratexts such as editor’s prefaces.

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<sup>5</sup> Yanagawa Shunsan, *Yōgaku shishin. Eigaku-bu* (Edo: 1867), 19a-b. 「其読ムベキ書ハ・・・地学初歩、智環啓蒙・・・等。皆刻本アリテ、何方ニテモ購求シ得ベシ、又師友無クシテ独学ヲナサント欲セバ・・・今ハ遠国僻邑ニテモ独学ヲナスニ難カラズ、是レ 国家昇平文明ノ余沢ニシテ、士民ノ大幸ナリ。」

<sup>6</sup> To the extent that Yanagawa has been remembered, it is first in his capacity as a pioneer of what would later become modern periodical print in Japan, and second through the work of local historians in Nagoya and Aichi prefecture. Literature on the former will be touched upon later in this chapter. For the latter, see esp. Nakamura Shinzō 中村新三, *Bakumatsu no senkakusha, kyōdo no ijin Yanagawa Shunsan-ten o oete* 幕末の先覚者・郷土の偉人柳河春三展を追えて (Nagoya: Nakamura Shinzō, 1986). In the Anglophone literature, I am only aware of one significant, i.e., more than incidental, discussion of Yanagawa Shunsan. This is done within the context of Yanagawa’s 1867 compilation of various Dutch and French articles on the Daguerrotype process, of which Maki Fukuoka offers a close reading. See Maki Fukuoka, *The Premise of Fidelity: Science, Visuality, and Representing the Real in Ninetenth-Century Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), pp. 155-93. For a Japanese take on Yanagawa’s role in the promotion of photography, see Miyaji Masato 宮地正人, “Kinsei gazō no sho-kinō to shashin no shutsugen 近世画像の諸機能と写真の出現,” in *Bakumatsu maboroshi no abura-e-shi Shima Kakoku* 幕末幻の油絵師島霞谷, ed. Matsuda-shi Tojō Rekishikan 松戸市戸定歴史館 (Matsuda-shi: Matsuda-shi Tojō Rekishikan, 1996), pp. 166-75.

<sup>7</sup> The duplication of the designation “editor” is due to the fact that our contemporary use of the term conflates both aspects of “correction” and aspects of “contemplation,” which were related but separate in the East Asian textual tradition.

Yanagawa, however, was himself little troubled by his lack of a grand theory or comprehensive system. Eschewing the slow, meditative exactitude of the pursuit of deeper truths, he instead worked with a feverish productivity, piecing together as many disparate strands of knowledge as possible from whatever sources he could find, according to what struck him either as curious or useful. As he remarked on his own working habits, “Whenever I encountered something new and curious in the passages I read, I made a brief note of it. They have never possessed any order, and their prose is itself jumbled.”<sup>8</sup> Or, in the words of famed naturalist Itō Keisuke, Yanagawa was a man always

bent over his desk, translating a book on one side, and reading a different book simultaneously on the other, all the while arguing with us. The whole time he spoke, his pen would never stop, nor would he cease reading. Yet his words flowed eloquently, without any slips of the tongue.<sup>9</sup>

Appendix 1 lists twenty-six confirmed titles with which Yanagawa Shunsan was in some capacity directly involved. I say “confirmed,” for the spotty secondary literature on Yanagawa cites dozens of other works that I have either been unable to find in any catalogue, or else whose relationship to Yanagawa is rumored, but not definitively noted within the text itself.<sup>10</sup> This situation is further complicated by the fact that Yanagawa was fond of literary pen names (号), with up to as many as forty claimed by some researchers.<sup>11</sup> I have thus confined myself to titles whose physical copies were available

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<sup>8</sup> 「読書の條、新奇の事に遇へは、それを抄録せしものにて、もとより事に倫次無く、文も亦整頓せされ」, Yanagawa Shunsan, *Bankoku shinwa* 万国新話 (Edo: Jōshūya Sōshichi), p. 1a.

<sup>9</sup> 「春三机によりて一書を訳し、別に一書を読み、而して数人と対して談論す。その間、筆を停めず、読むことを休めず、弁舌また流るる如し、而して、遂に一つの沮相もなく失語なし」. Quoted in Nakamura, *Bakumatsu no senkakusha*, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, the list of works in Osatake’s timeline. Osatake, *Shinbun zasshi*, pp. 1-4.

<sup>11</sup> Nakamura, *Bakumatsu no senkakusha*, pp. 2-3.

for my consultation, and whose text clearly states a relation to Yanagawa using his own name.

As shown by this list, Yanagawa was author of only four of these works. He served seven times as translator, two of these being cases of co-translation with larger teams.<sup>12</sup> In all other instances, he acted as an editor of European-language textbooks, abridging and simplifying their content for Japanese audiences, or else as a compiler, anthologizing together elementary textbooks, reference works, and other cheap pedagogical print, including penny magazines and newspapers, into single titles.

With the exception of one undated work of anecdotes on George Washington, this list lays out neatly the arc of Yanagawa's career. Precocious in his childhood, he was said to have earned by age five the praise of his domainal lord, Tokugawa Naritaka 徳川斉荘 (1810-45). This fame allowed him to enter into the tutelage of Itō Keisuke in Nagoya, from whom he quickly acquired Dutch. By age twelve, he had been enlisted as an aide to Ueda Tatewaki 上田帯刀 (1809-63) in the translation of Dutch military manuals for the strengthening of Owari's defenses, resulting, at the age of nineteen, in the first book to bear Yanagawa's name as "corrector": Ueda's *Handbook of Western Munitions* 西洋砲術便覧 (1853). The success of this work led to Yanagawa's promotion to a position as tutor in the Owari manor in Edo.

While serving in Edo, Yanagawa simultaneously opened a private academy, and began taking students of his own, one of whom was briefly the young Katō Hiroyuki, then known by the name Hirozō 弘藏, for whose early works he acted both as mentor and

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<sup>12</sup> Under the rubric of "translation," I have included the annotation of Chinese texts for Japanese readers via the use of diacritical marks known as *kunten*.

corrector. Meanwhile, in part to spread word of his own academy, Yanagawa had two elementary works published, one focused on the basics of the Dutch language, adapted and translated from Pieter Weiland's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst*, and another introducing Western arithmetic to general readers.<sup>13</sup> During this period, he also fell into close company with a circle of scholars centered around Katsuragawa Hoshū, doctor to the shogun. It was through Katsuragawa that Yanagawa's name came to be attached as corrector to the *Oranda jii* 和蘭字彙, the most popular Japanese-Dutch dictionary of bakumatsu period.<sup>14</sup>

Several members of Katsuragawa's circle had by then already found positions at the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, including Kanda Kōhei 神田孝平 (1838-98) and Mitsukuri Shūhei 箕作秋坪, the adopted son of Mitsukuri Genpo, whom we encountered already in Chapter 3. Fast on their heels, Yanagawa himself was appointed an assistant instructor (教授手伝) at the Institute in 1860, and, following its conversion to the Kaiseijo in 1863, was promoted to the rank of full instructor. In practice, this appears to have primarily entailed directing and editing the translations of his colleagues – an activity at which his talents were quickly recognized. As Tanaka Yoshio later recalled, “Yanagawa was a genius, and on top of that a good writer; he therefore went about making notes on our work, adding things here, correcting things there.”<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The edition of Weiland, used by Yanagawa was published in 1839 in Dordrecht. On Yanagawa's arithmetic manual, see Ogura Kanenosuke 小倉金之助, “Nihon sūgakushi-jō no kiseki Yanagawa Shunsan 日本数学史上の奇蹟 柳河春三,” *Kindai Nihon no sūgaku* (Tokyo: Shinjusha, 1956), pp. 3-24.

<sup>14</sup> Emphasis on “printed.” Japanese-Dutch dictionaries had been produced in Japan well before this, but they circulated primarily as manuscripts.

<sup>15</sup> 「又故人の柳河春三といふ人は随分才子でありまして、其上筆の立つ人であつたから、我々の仕事を注意して呉れたり、或は書いて呉れたり、添削して呉れたりしました」, Tanaka Yoshio 田

Indeed, some scholars have speculated that within the Kaiseijo, Yanagawa was widely regarded as a gatekeeper to publication; it was only after they had received his approval that translations were deemed good enough to see the light of day.<sup>16</sup> Certainly, by the second half of the decade, we find his name as editor, corrector, or compiler of several *kanpan* works printed at the Kaiseijo, including introductory manuals to Western Learning, as well as a French grammar.

Perhaps more revealing than his intramural role is the line between intramural and extramural knowledge that Yanagawa straddled during this period. As a key consultant on the translations of other scholars at the Institute and later Kaiseijo, Yanagawa was privy to multiple manuscripts of works in progress otherwise inaccessible to outsider eyes, and often not even shared among insider colleagues. Seeking to rectify this situation, Yanagawa founded, in 1862, the Kaiyakusha 会訳社, or, roughly, the “Society for Group Translation.” The Kaiyakusha combined features of a working paper series with the openness of a circulating library. For a nominal subscription fee, members of the Kaiyakusha gained access to unpublished manuscripts, the majority translations from European-language texts, produced by scholars at the Kaiseijo. These manuscripts could then be borrowed and copied for personal use.<sup>17</sup>

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中芳男, “Kaikodan 回顧談,” in *Tanaka Yoshio-kun nanaroku tenrankai kinen shi* 田中芳男君七六展覽會記念誌, ed. Dai-Nihon Sanrin-kai 大日本山林會 (Tokyo: Dai-Nihon Sanrin-kai, 1913), p. 12.

<sup>16</sup> For instance, Hara Heizō 原平三, “Bansho Shirabesho no kagaku oyobi gijutsu bumon ni tsuite 蕃書調所の科学及び技術部門に就て,” *Teikoku gakushiin kiji* 帝国学士院紀事 2, no. 3 (1943): pp. 442-45; Miyaji Masato 宮地正人, “Konton no naka no Kaiseijo 混沌の中の開成所,” in *Gakumon no arukeorōji. The Archaeology of Science*, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku, 1997), pp. 20-49.

<sup>17</sup> Katagiri Yoshio 片桐芳雄, “Bakumatsu Meiji no yōgakusha Watanabe On (Ichirō) oboegaki (1) 幕末明治の洋学者・渡部温（一郎）覚え書（1）,” *Aichi Kyōiku Daigaku kenkyū hōkoku* 愛知教育大学研究報告 32 (1983): pp. 69-72; Miyaji Masato, “Koton no naka no Kaiseijo,” p. 33. Miyaji claims the subscription fee was 2 *bun* (分) for half a year, making a year’s subscription approximately 1 *ryō*.

Yanagawa's full ambitions for the Kaiyakusha came to be realized only after his ascendance to the position of headmaster (頭取) of the Kaiseijo in 1867. Prior to this, his principal frustration had been the Kaiyakusha's limited reach of circulation, confined for the most part to other scholars in the Edo area. Drawing inspiration from the periodical literature of the West, Yanagawa hoped to create his own print organ for the diffusion of knowledge. This became at last possible with his newfound authority. Using the in-house press of the Kaiseijo, the Kaiyakusha released the first issue of the *Magazine of the West* 西洋雑誌 in early winter of 1867.<sup>18</sup>

The *Magazine of the West* lasted for six issues of approximately thirty pages each, published at irregular intervals until the summer of 1869. Its self-appointed status as a “magazine” and the close overlap between several key contributors – Katō Hiroyuki, Kanda Takahira, Nishi Amane, Nakamura Keiu, among others – has prompted some historians to view it as a precursor to the more famous *Meiroke zasshi* 明六雑誌, easily the most representative periodical of Meiji “civilization and enlightenment.”<sup>19</sup> Yet such a comparison overlooks a fundamental divergence in the nature of what, for each, constituted the function of a “magazine.” The *Meiroke zasshi* aimed to shape opinion; its pages were filled with debates and commentaries on contemporary politics and society. The goals of the *Magazine of the West* were altogether different.

In an editorial statement accompanying its first issue, Yanagawa stated his intentions clearly. “On top of new discourses on the sciences,” he wrote, “I have abridged

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<sup>18</sup> The first issue is dated the 10<sup>th</sup> month of Keiō 3. On the *Seiyō zasshi*, see Osatake Takeshi, “*Seiyō zasshi* kaidai,” in *Meiji bunka zenshū*, vol 19 (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōron-sha, 1992); Nishida Taketoshi, “*Seiyō zasshi*,” *Fukkoku Nihon no zasshi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982).

<sup>19</sup> Fujita Yutaka 藤田豊, “Bunkashi-jō no Nishi Amane to Yanagawa Shunsan 文化史上の西周と柳河春三,” *Eigakushi zasshi* 英学史研究 2 (1970): pp. 25-27.

the manuscript translations of friends, and collected all the various practices and methods useful and convenient for everyday life, in the hopes of diffusing them to like-minded audiences across the land.”<sup>20</sup> What followed were brief articles of typically two to three pages spanning topics as diverse as the lineage of Russian emperors, the uses of aluminum, the geography of the Mediterranean, the biographies of American presidents, a survey of Western liquors, and an account of attempts to unify Germany.<sup>21</sup> In the face of this motley assemblage, some researchers have argued that Yanagawa’s *Magazine of the West* was less a “magazine” proper, and more a “book for popular enlightenment” (啓蒙的書籍).<sup>22</sup> But we, at the end of this dissertation, know better, for we have seen this pattern already. The *Magazine of the West* was a penny magazine.

Due to these activities, Yanagawa has been called by some the progenitor of the Japanese newsman.<sup>23</sup> This typification may well be accurate for our modern sensibilities, but the snippets of history, geography, mathematics, language, and natural science which Yanagawa cobbled together from others’ translations were not, for him, “news.” They represented a genuine practice of scholarship – scholarship that qualified him to supervise the whole of the Kaiseijo.

This practice of scholarship stemmed, in a word, from the globalization of cheap pedagogical print. The attitude that short, elementary works could spread knowledge

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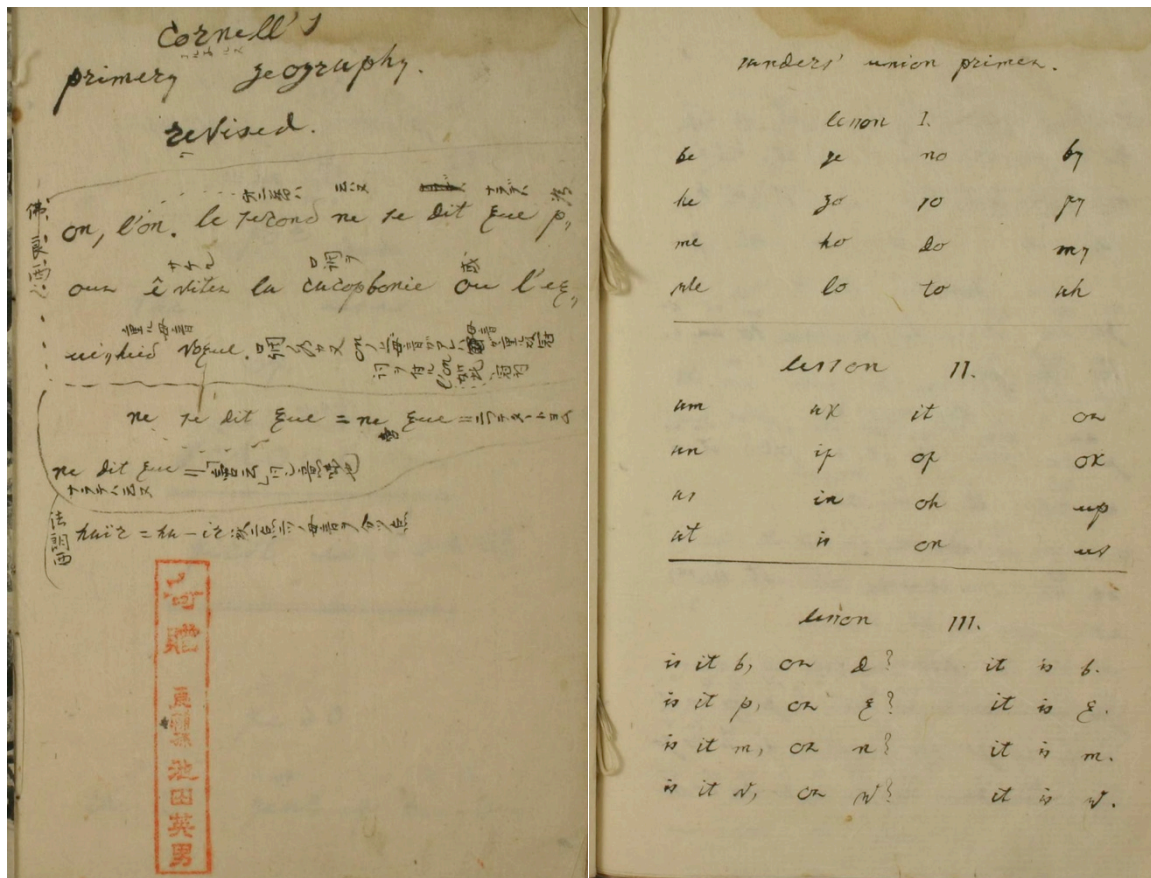
<sup>20</sup> 「諸学科の新説ハさなら、今先ツ二三友人の訳稿を抄出して、日用便宜の方法等を集めて、海内の同好に頒たんと欲す。」, *Seiyō zasshi* 西洋雑誌, vol. 1 (1867): p. 1a.

<sup>21</sup> For a list of all contents, see Fujimoto Naoki 藤元直樹, “Bakumatsu Meiji shoki zasshi mokuji shūran 幕末・明治初期雑誌目次集覧,” *Sankō shoshi kenkyū* 参考書誌研究 65 (2006): pp. 14-16.

<sup>22</sup> Osatake Takeshi 尾佐竹猛, *Shinbun zasshi no sōritsusha Yanagawa Shunsan* 新聞雑誌の創立者 柳河春三 (Tokyo: Takayama shoin, 1940), p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> See Osatake, *Zasshi shinbun*; Yoshida Teiichi 吉田貞一, “Shin bunmei no kaitakusha Yanagawa Shunsan oboegaki 新文明の開拓者 柳河春三覚書,” *Shin bunmei* 新文明 3, no. 7 (1953): pp. 64-67.

universally produced a range of textbooks and educational periodicals that were easily broken apart and reassembled as they traveled. If the textbook of the humanist was the *Sammelband* of “classick Authors” printed on wide margins, then the textbooks of Japanese elites seeking to acquire Western knowledge were *Sammelbände* of another sort – assemblages of unknowns such as Sarah Cornell, François Noël, Charles Chapsal, and Charles Sanders.

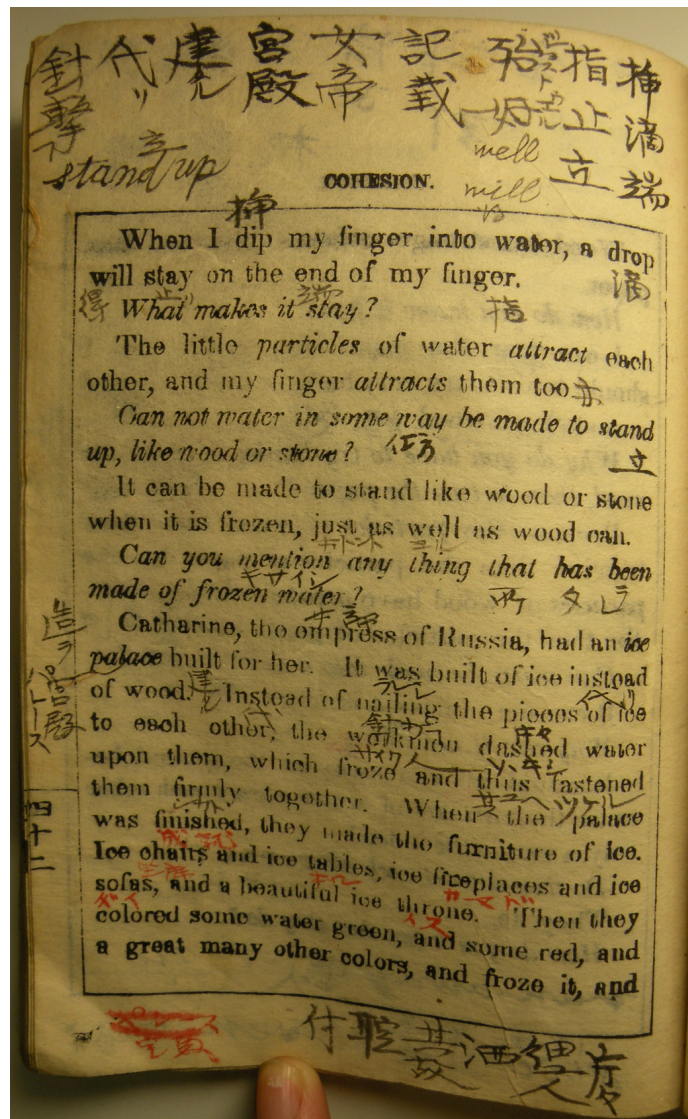


**6.2 Sammelband of Western textbooks for a Japanese reader:** Manuscript compilation of sections from Cornell's *Primary Geography Revised*, Noël and Chapsal's *Nouvelle grammaire française*, and Sanders' *Union Primer*. 8-E-182, Yōgaku Bunko, Waseda University Library.

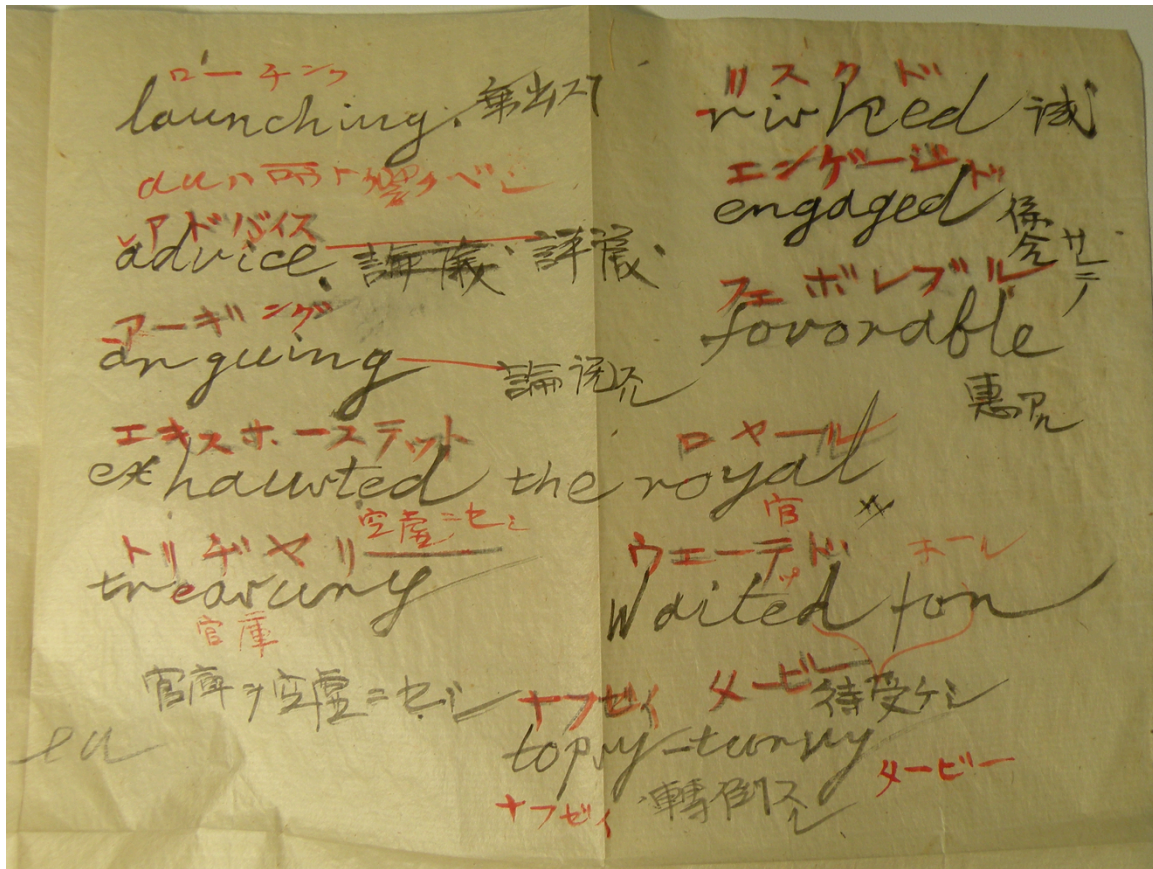
Just as genres were mixed and matched in the creation of these textbook *Sammelbände*, so were they blurred by variant reading practices. Mary Swift's *First Lessons in Natural Philosophy* was as much an introduction to physical science, as it was an introduction to



the English language, and a source for anecdotes on Catherine the Great of Russia, all of which came together in the annotations below to an Edo reprint of 1867.



**6.3 A Japanese reader's marginalia in Swift's *First Lessons*:** From an 1867 Edo reprint. Both at the top and in the text, we can see the reader indicating translations of various words and phrases, including “dip” (挿), “drop” (滴), “end” (端), “finger” (指), etc. He notes the difference between “well” (好) and “will” (得), and gives a phonetic gloss for the phrase “just as well” (殆好; *josuto weru*). Then, he notes the “empress” (女帝) Catherine the Great, and an anecdote on her ice palace. 7260-4 *First Lessons on Natural Philosophy*, University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute.



**6.4 Loose notes by a Japanese reader in Swift's *First Lessons*:** Sandwiched in the folds of the book at the end, containing further English practice. 7260-4 *First Lessons on Natural Philosophy*, University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute.

The nature of scholarship within this world of textbooks belonged to an epistemic culture different from the one to which we accustomed. Only in retrospect, to our modern eyes, does this culture appear a curious and often bizarre miscellany of facts and observations – a hungry parataxis that continued to string on new knowledge with little care for structure and organization, rather than a hypotaxis concerned with the propriety of disciplinary order. For a thinker such as Yanagawa Shunsan, however, these practices were the very condition of learning itself, insofar as one wished to learn the West.

In this sense, Yanagawa's example shines beyond the problem of Western knowledge in nineteenth-century Japan, to illuminate a more fundamental problem of knowledge and its global diffusion. Our contemporary feeling of strangeness in the face

of a thinker as Yanagawa arrives to us, in part, not only because we as scholars believe we have developed better standards for adjudicating legitimate sources of knowledge, but also, I suspect, because we today suffer from our own nervousness over an expanded world of pedagogical proliferation, this time aided by the Internet.

As I write, I have dozens of Wikipedia tabs open in the background of my browser; I have e-mails from Coursera lectures that I began auditing and never finished; I have feeds from Twitter and Mashable and other content aggregators offering reports old and new from all domains and disciplines, compiled only in the order they appeared online. Raised in a bygone age, surviving still in a new one, I have been trained to suspect these. They may serve as a starting point – and more frequently than I would like to admit – but true knowledge must be produced through a set of sources and standards that rise above and contain such messiness. Yet even as this skepticism flares through my mind, I am also conscious of a fledging generation for whom what counts as a legitimate source of knowledge, how this knowledge should be organized into a program of study, and what one must know to qualify as an intellectual, stands radically altered. This generation will turn to Google, turn to Wikipedia, and turn to all those media that stir my anxieties, without matching anxieties of their own.

To Japanese scholars seeking Western knowledge in the middle of the nineteenth century, the emerging epistemic culture I fear today would have been all but normal. The twenty-first century reader who learns by clicking through linked Wiki pages while in a remote village is not far from the nineteenth-century Japanese reader who learned by flipping through cheap textbooks on the other side of the world. We thus might be tempted to ask: what would Yanagawa Shunsan think of our dilemmas today? The

question perhaps involves too much counterfactual speculation for the historian's taste.<sup>24</sup> Allow me, then, to pose a more proximate question: what did Yanagawa Shunsan have to say during the early decades of Meiji, as Western knowledge abandoned cheap textbooks, and found, by fits and starts, a new basis in disciplinary canons? What did Yanagawa say, for instance, to his former student, collaborator, and colleague Katō Hiroyuki, who militated for a paradigm of "truth" to be discovered in Kant, in Hegel, in other great works of the West? If history should be the master of life, then can we draw any life lessons from Yanagawa's experience between these two epistemic cultures?

The years following the Restoration were rocky for Yanagawa. The lords of Owari domain, Yanagawa's home, were direct relatives of the Tokugawa household, and Yanagawa himself had been an ardent supporter of the shogunate. Finding himself at odds with the new imperial government, despite their efforts to recruit him into service, he thus chose to withdraw from the Kaiseijo. At the same time, to match his psychological state, a long-standing affliction of the lungs returned, rendering him at times housebound for days at a time.

Nevertheless, there were moments of hope. On February 20 of the year 1870, Utsunomiya Saburō 宇都宮三郎 (1834-1903), a companion since their days of childhood in Owari, paid Yanagawa a visit.<sup>25</sup> To his delight, he arrived to find his friend in high spirits. All pulmonary pains, Yanagawa reported, seemed to have subsided. He felt a new man, and proposed the two go out for a special meal: broiled eel, or *unagi*, the specialty

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<sup>24</sup> On the historian's aversion to counterfactual history, see Martin Bunzl, "Counterfactual History: A User's Guide," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 3 (2004): 845-58.

<sup>25</sup> The following anecdote is recounted both by Utsunomiya himself in his memoirs, and also by Imaizumi Mine in hers. See Utsunomiya Saburō 宇都宮三郎, *Utsunomiya-shi keirekidan* 宇都宮氏経歴談 (Tokyo: Kōjunsha, 1902), pp. 202-3; Imaizumi Mine 今泉みね, *Nagori no yume* 名ごりの夢 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973), p. 42.

of their home province. Utsunomiya gladly agreed. The two set out, and quickly found satisfaction. Yanagawa, in particular, is said to have devoured his meal like a man famished, consuming several bowls before he rested back, content, from the table.

“Ahhh. Delicious!” Yanagawa sighed.

And then he died.

Appendix 1: Confirmed Titles on which Yanagawa Shunsan Worked

Title	Date	Yanagawa's role	Author (if not YS)	Publisher	Notes
華盛頓軍記	[n.d.]	editor (編)	Suzuki (鈴木先生)	Yamatoya Kibei (大和屋喜兵衛)	anecdotal accounts of George Washington's military exploits
西洋砲術便覽	1853	corrector (校)	Ueda Tatewaki (上田帶刀)	Kibanasono (黄花園)	Illustrated survey of Western munitions translated from unspecified Dutch text
西洋各國盛衰強弱一覽表	1857	corrector (校)	Katō Hirozō [Hiroyuki] (加藤弘藏)	Kinokuniya Genbei (紀伊國屋源兵衛)	world geography with demographic statistics
洋算用法初編	1857	author (著)	n/a	Yamataya Kibei (大和屋喜兵衛)	introduction to Western arithmetic
洋学指針蘭学部	1857	translator and editor (訳編)	Weiland, Peter	[n.p.]	abridged version of Pieter Weiland, <i>Nederduitsche spraakkunst</i> (Dordrecht, 1839)
和蘭字彙	1857	corrector (校訂)	Katsuragawa Hoshū (桂川甫周); Doeff, Hendrik	Katsuragawa Hoshū (桂川甫周)	printed edition of a Japanese-Dutch dictionary, produced ca. 1810s (manuscript) in collaboration with the VOC factor Hendrik Doeff



Confirmed Titles on which Yanagawa Shunsan Worked (cont.)

楊子放言 一名天香社 会話	1860	author (著)	n/a	[manuscript]	Collection of amusing stories told at gatherings of the Tenkōsha, an Edo salon centered around Katsuragawa Hoshū.
横浜繁昌記	[1860?]	author (著)	n/a	[n.p.]	Travel guide to the port of Yokohama after its opening to Western powers. Reasoning for the estimated year of publication may be found in Ch. 3, n. 3
英和对訳袖 珍辞書	1861	editor (編纂)	Hori Tatsunosuke (堀達之助); Picard, H.	Kurataya Seiuemon (蔵 田屋清右衛門)	Japanese translation of Picard's <i>A Pocket Dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch- English Languages</i> .
智環啓蒙	1866	translator (訓点)	Baker, Charles; Legge, James	Edo Kaibutsusha (江戸 開物社)	Japanese annotation of James Legge's dual-language translation of Charles Baker's <i>Circle of Knowledge</i>
法郎西文典 (2 vols.)	1866	co-translator and editor (訳編)	Kobayashi Teisuke (小林鼎輔); Noël, François; Chapsal, Charles-Pierre	Kaiseijo (官版 開成所)	abridged translation of Noël and Chapsal's <i>Nouvelle grammaire française</i> (1823)
洋学便覧 初集	1866	compiler (輯)	[not specified]	Kaiseijo (官版 開成所)	introduction to basic Western astronomy, geography, history, etc. compiled from various unspecified textbooks

Confirmed Titles on which Yanagawa Shunsan Worked (cont.)

陸軍士官必携 (10 vols.)	1867	corrector (閲)	Watanabe Ichirō (渡部一郎); Macdougall, Patrick Leonard	Yamashiroya Sabei (山城屋佐兵衛)	Translation of Patrick Leonard Macdougall, <i>The Campaigns of Hannibal: Arranged and critically condensed expressly for the use of students of military history</i> (1856)
洋学指針 英学部	1867	compiler (輯)	[not specified]	Yanagawa Shunsan (柳河氏)	introduction to the English language and basic geographical, historical and scientific terms in English
洋学便覧 二集	1867	compiler (輯)	[not specified]	Kaiseijo (官版 開成所)	continuation of (11)
写真鏡図説 (2 vols.)		translator and compiler (訳編)	[not specified]	Jōshūya Sōshichi (上州屋惣七)	translations of descriptions of the Daguerrotype process from Dutch and French texts
西洋雜誌 (6 vols.)	1867-1869	translator and compiler (訳編)	various	Edo Kaibutsusha (江戸開物社)	irregularly published collection of miscellaneous translations by scholars at the Kaiseijo
中外新聞 (45 issues)	1868	compiler (編)	various	Edo Kaibutsusha (江戸開物社)	irregularly published summary of the contents of European-language newspapers
万国新話 (2 vols)	1868	translator and compiler (訳編)	[not specified]	Jōshūya Sōshichi (上州屋惣七)	translations of miscellaneous anecdotes and articles on various topics, especially Western history and science



Confirmed Titles on which Yanagawa Shunsan Worked (cont.)

西洋軍制	1868	corrector (校)	Chanoine, Charles	Jōshūya Sōshichi (上州屋惣七)	Survey of the organizational structure of the French army, based on interviews with Charles Chanoine, chief of the French Military Mission to Japan. Yanagawa is credited only as "corrector"; the translator is not specified.
蚕種説	1869	translator (訳)	Karmarsch, Karl	Yoshidaya (吉田屋)	translation of entry on sericulture from the Dutch translation of Karl Karmarsch's <i>Technisches Wörterbuch</i> [ <i>Technologische woordenboek</i> (Gouda, 1862)]
うひまなび 西洋将棋指南	1869	author (著)	n/a	Jōshūya Sōshichi (上州屋惣七)	introductory textbook to the Japanese language
	1869	compiler (編)	[not specified]	Chūgaidō (中外堂)	collection of various articles on Western chess
格物入門和解		translator (和解)	Martin, William Alexander Parsons	Hokumon sha (北門社)	posthumously published; Japanese annotation of W.A.P. Martin's Chinese-language textbook of physics
洋算用法 第二編	1870	corrector (閲)	鷲尾保卓意著	Yamatoya Kibei (大和屋喜兵衛)	posthumously published; continuation of (5)
西洋時計便覽 (2 vols.)	1871	corrector (校)	橋爪貫一著	Yamatoya Kibei (大和屋喜兵衛)	posthumously published introduction to Western practices of time-telling and time-keeping

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